

**PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES**  
OF  
**ASSEVERATION AND ADJURATION**  
IN OLD AND MIDDLE FRENCH

BY  
**OLIVER TOWLES**

---

A DISSERTATION

*Submitted to the Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins  
University in conformity with the requirements for the degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy.*



PARIS (VI<sup>e</sup>)  
LIBRAIRIE ANCIENNE HONORÉ CHAMPION  
ÉDOUARD CHAMPION  
5, QUAI MALAQUAIS

—  
1920

*Dis. Baltimore  
1920.*











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ABBEVILLE. — IMPRIMERIE F. PAILLART

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TO M. T.



## PREFACE

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The subject of asseveration and adjuration has been discussed by several authors, most particularly by Rudolf Zöckler <sup>1</sup> and Konrad Tolle <sup>2</sup>. The work of Zöckler covers roughly the whole period of French, treating asseveration and adjuration from the point of view of form; for the period down to the fifteenth century it is very imperfect. Tolle gives an incomplete classification of forms of invocation in the early literatures of France, Spain, Italy and Provence.

I have confined myself to the period of French literature from the earliest monuments to the middle of the sixteenth century. The material collected has been supplemented from the dissertations of Zöckler, Tolle and Richard Busch <sup>3</sup>; from the dictionaries of Du Cange and Godefroy; and from Langlois' *Table des noms Propres dans les Chansons de Geste* <sup>4</sup>.

The present volume consists merely of a classified list of the forms of prepositional phrases of asseveration and adjuration that I have found. In the near future I hope to publish, in expanded form, the results I have obtained from the examination of the general principles and forms of invocations and their literary and chronological usage.

1. *Die Betheurungsformeln im Französischen*, Leipzig, 1906.

2. *Das Betheurn und Beschwören in der altromanischen Poesie*, Erlangen, 1883.

3. *Ueber die Betheurungs- und Beschwörungsformeln in den Miracles de Notre Dame par personnages*, Marburg, 1886.

4. Examples from Godefroy and Langlois have been indicated by the abbreviations *God.* and *L.* respectively.



The printing of this volume was begun and almost completed in 1914. The interruptions of the war have made it necessary to delay its appearance until the present moment.

OLIVER TOWLES.

Chapel Hill, N. C.

August, 1919.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### PRINCIPILES AND FORMS OF INVOCATION

---

In invocations of objects of reverence and love for the purpose of emphasizing speech, the two fundamental principles that seem to be involved are (a) that the object invoked will aid in proving the sincerity of the utterance ; (b) that the agent will be punished by or through the object invoked if he speaks falsely or fails to act as stated. The simplest forms of these two kinds of invocation are *si m'ait dieu*, *si t'ait dieu*, etc. and *le diable m'emporte si...*, etc.

In this study we are not concerned with either of the above formulas of invocation, but with the invocation of objects of reverence and love by means of a phrase consisting of an introductory preposition plus the name of the object invoked. In this form of invocation also the ideas of entreaty for aid <sup>1</sup> and of imprecation <sup>2</sup> seem to be the emphasizing principles.

There is little possibility of overlapping and confusion between prepositional phrases of invocation and invocations

1. See : *par dieu*, *par dieu notre seigneur*, *par Saint Jean*, etc.

2. Compare for illustration : *nous prenons sur noz testes, Qu'elle est grosse d'enfant*, Mir. ND., II, 620. — *Qu'est-ce, truans, par vo maleïçon ?* Aub(a)., 59. — *par male aventure*, Mir. ND., XXXIII, 1050. — *Par vostre part de paradis*, ib., XXIII, 821. — *Vos i mentés, par les grenons*, Fabl., VI, 93.

in the forms *si m'ait dieu*, etc., and *le diable m'emporte*, etc.<sup>1</sup>. There is often, however, great difficulty in distinguishing between prepositional phrases of invocation and prepositional phrases based upon the name of some abstract quality, such as *par amour*, *en vérité*, *en charité*, etc. We omit in this study all such phrases and have concerned ourselves with phrases consisting of a preposition plus the name of an abstract quality only when, as the result of the presence of the possessive pronoun (*par ma foi*, *par votre serment*, etc.<sup>2</sup>), the abstraction seems to be made definite, personified and invoked<sup>3</sup>. We have also omitted all adjurative phrases consisting of a preposition plus a possessive plus an abstract quality of the being adjured, such as *par votre bonté*, etc.<sup>4</sup>.

The normal objects of invocation in asseverative and adjurative oaths may be divided into two classes, religious objects and objects pertaining to the speaker, the person addressed, or the person referred to. In the first class the invocation

1. Note, however : *maugré dieu* = *mal gré ait dieu* and *jarnibleu* = *je renie dieu* (indirect imprecation).

2. We have included *par foi* (p. 127-129), *à foi* (p. 126) and *en foi* (p. 127) on account of their parallelism with other forms of invocation of *foi*, such as *par ma foi*, *à la foi*, *en ma foi*, *foi que je dois*, etc.

3. The most important phrases of this nature that I omit are :  
*amitié* :

*Or me di, anfes, par fines amistiez*, Jourd. Bl., 1575. — *Pur amistié...*  
*Espernez pur moi*, Rom. de Tristan, 2747.

*amour* :

*par amour*, *Exploitez vos tost*, Fabl., V, 195. — *Or vous suppli, par amour fine*, Mir. ND., XXIX, 690. — *En amour vous proy*, ib., IV, 235.

*charité* :

*Parlez plus bas, en charité*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 98.

*pitié* :

*pour pitié*, *Laissiez moy*, Mir. ND., IV, 1279.

*vérité* :

*oïl, par verité*, Li Nerb., 1903. — *Par la verité, m'en irai*, Ren., VI, 531. — *Or sai ge bien de verité*, Clig., 763.

4. Compare : *Sire, par ton commandement Deffent nos*, Guil. Pal., 3183.  
*Et li prient par sa franchise*, GCoins., 218. — *Baille nous... par la toie bonté*, Fier., 5247. — *par grace, peschez le*, Rab., I, 12. — *He, Dieus, par les vostres bontés, Comment en serai jou delivrés ?*, Fabl., IV, 19. — etc,



appears to be in the nature of an entreaty for superhuman aid in attesting the sincerity of the utterance emphasized ; in the second the invocation is apparently an imprecation upon the beloved object in case of insincerity.

In the early middle ages attestation by religious objects was very frequent. The legal processes of the German tribes were in large measure based upon judgment by oath, and after Christianization such forms of law were long continued in the handling of minor cases <sup>1</sup>. The strength of invocations of religious objects evidently must vary according to the epoch and to the degree of reverence in which religious objects are held. So long as the reverence is fervent, things religious may be seriously invoked to attest truth. As reverence declines, it becomes necessary to strengthen the form of invocation, and when that also ceases to maintain the solemnity of the formula, the invocation preserves emphasis only because it now becomes vulgar or sacrilegious. In the first case, it is religious worship which gives emphasis to the oath ; in the second, it is vulgarity, sacrilege and the underlying self-imprecation. We have termed these two kinds of invocation *serious* and *frivolous* respectively.

Invocations of objects pertaining to the speaker, etc., have not in general the same emphasizing power as invocations of objects of religious reverence. In their case also we notice changes in the forms of invocation as the result of changing times and ideals. In the earliest period a number of material objects occur in oaths, such as *la barbe*, *les yeux*, *le chief* (*la tête*), but in the fifteenth century these are replaced in great measure by abstractions, such as *la foi*, *l'honneur*, *la conscience*, *le serment*, etc.

It has been observed that normal forms of adjuration occur currently in serious religious context where forms of asseve-

1. See : DuCange, s. v. « Juramentum » ; Baluzius, *Capit. Reg. Franc.*, I, 154, 234, 235, 398 ; Bouquet, *Rec. des Hist. des Gaules*, IV, 454-5, 597-609 (exorcism) ; V, 647 ; Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Script.*, V, 23, 363.

ration are avoided as improper and undignified. This difference results from the variant nature of asseveration and adjuration. In the case of the former, the speaker takes the responsibility of the act or utterance upon himself; in the case of the latter, he shifts it upon the person addressed. The naming of an object of reverence in connection with a statement or emotional utterance must verge upon triviality or defiance; on the other hand, the mention of this object as an exhortation to another to act as directed approaches the nature of a prayer.

The prepositional phrases under consideration occur in three forms of invocation, asseverative, adjurative, and exclamatory or interjectionnal. The asseverative invocation qualifies statements of fact and intention, attesting parenthetically the truth of these statements by reference to that which is invoked, so *par dieu je l'ai fait* (— *le fais*, — *le ferai*), Adjurative invocations accompany commands, requests, questions, etc., and are fundamentally demands that the person addressed shall speak or act as stated, if he hold in reverence the object named, so *pour dieu faites-le* (— *que faites-vous ?*, etc.). Exclamatory or interjectional invocations have no direct relation to the clause they accompany, but as interjections, serve either to express the emotions of the speaker or to exhort the person addressed. With this third kind of invocation we are not here concerned except where invocations in normal adjurative or asseverative forms, or in forms derived from them <sup>1</sup>, are used interjectionally.

1. Such as *sang dieu !* = *par (pour) le sang dieu*. Such interjectional forms without prepositions have not been considered except when there was evidence to show that they were abbreviated from prepositional phrases of invocation. For example, I have not treated in this study *Dieu !*, *diable !*, etc., which occur in Old French alongside of *par dieu*, etc. *Sang dieu !*, however, is not found until the fifteenth century, and on account of its function as well as its late appearance may be supposed to be abbreviated from the full asseverative and adjurative forms.

## CHAPTER II

### OBJECTS OF INVOCATION

#### A) RELIGIOUS OBJECTS OF INVOCATION

##### I. Christian objects of Invocation.

##### 1. GOD THE FATHER

The distinction between God the Father and God the Son is not generally to be recognized in invocations of *dieu*. A number of oath-formulas, however, consisting in an invocation of *Jésus* or *Christ* by name, or of *dieu* with a descriptive phrase, or of a physical attribute of *dieu*, are evidently invocations of God the Son. I have placed these forms in a special class, and include under the present classification only such invocations of *dieu* as are not evidently directed to God the Son.

Forms of invocation of God which do not clearly invoke God the Son may be divided formally and, in a measure, functionally into five groups : *a. Dieu* without qualifiers ; *b. Dieu* preceded by an attributive or possessive adjective ; *c. Dieu*, expressed or understood, with a following adjective or appositive qualifier ; *d. Dieu*, or a substitute, followed by a relative clause ; *e.* Indirect invocation of *dieu* through the medium of some abstract attribute.

##### a) DIEU WITHOUT QUALIFIERS

**par dieu :**

This asseverative oath has been frequent at almost all periods. In the earliest monuments and in the *Roland* it does

not occur, and it is found very rarely in the miracles <sup>1</sup> of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the chansons de geste (one example to 1000 lines), the fabliaux (one in 1575 lines) and the Renart (one in 1500 lines) this oath is one of the most frequently employed formulas of asseveration. The Courtly Epic furnishes scattered occurrences <sup>2</sup>. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, taking all forms of literature, *par dieu* is the most popular single oath-formula; in the drama its occurrence is in the proportion of one in 600 lines. The relatively great number of occurrences in polite and elevated poetry of these two centuries is to be especially noted <sup>3</sup>.

The absence of *par dieu* from the *Roland* and from the religious literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries would seem to indicate that the oath was very emphatic and its use improper or sacrilegious. The appearance of the oath in polite literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries shows the loss of this character.

The syntactic function of *par dieu* is very broad. It appears under all the conditions under which we find any oath occurring. It may be employed unemphatically to modify simple statements, the answers to questions, mild expressions of assent and dissent.

*As tu ma teste ? Oil, par dé*, Fl. u. Bl., 818. — *Et qu'est-ce Renart ? Qu'avez pris ? Par deu, ci a une soriz*, Ren., XXVI, 109. — *Il faut prendre le temps si comme il est. Voire, par dieu, mais ce temps n'est pas bel*, Eust. Desch., I, 145. — *Par Dieu, nenny, Casse Tui-leau*, Mist., I, 259. — *Mais qui cuide avoir l'avantaige Ung tel bien, par Dieu, n'est pas saige*, Rond., CLI. — *N'est-il pas vray ? Ouy, par dieu !*, R. G. S., II, 368.

It may be used emphatically to accompany a solemn promise, threat or defiance :

1. See Mir. ND., XVI, 90; ib., XXVII, 964.

2. Thèbes, 1203, 3179; Ch. Lyon, 71; Erec, 1819; Escoufle, 3926, 5956.

3. C. Mar., I, 220, 246, etc.; Chans. du xv<sup>e</sup> s., 119; Rond., VI, XXI, XXXVII, XLVIII, LIV, LIX, CI, CII, CXI, CXXI, CLI, CLXV.

*Par Dieu, veillart, por noiant en parlés. Jamais vers moi ne serés acordés*, RCambr., 8699. — *Par Dieu, sire, je n'irai hui, Se vous ne venés avoec mi*, Th. frç. au m. a., 88. — *Par Deu, fet il, danz gloz, vos i mentez*, Orenge, 609 ;

or to emphasize the expression of a strong emotion :

*Dist Rainouars : Merveille voi, par dé, Si petite arme qui a tel poësté*, Alisc., 6787. — *Par dieu, fait-il, cou est grant mal*, Fl. u. Bl., 681. — *Par Dieu, dame, j'ay grant despit*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 81.

In a few examples *par dieu* seems to be used as an interjection, and not as an asseveration to emphasize the truth of an utterance.

A hidden spy is speaking to himself of Charlemagne : *Par Deu, ço dist l'escolte, forz estes et membrez ; Que fols fist li reis Hugues, quant vus prestat ostel !*, Karls R., 465. — *Par Dieu ! vous en peussiez bien taire !*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 108. — *Par Dieu, quant j'ay espie Je croy que bastre me vouldroict*, R. F. M. S.-J., I, 20, 11.

#### **par bieu :**

This euphemistic form of *par dieu*, representing a transitional stage, phonetically, towards the Modern French form *parbleu* !, in the texts examined occurs for the first time in the fabliaux <sup>4</sup>. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it becomes frequent, but its employment is confined to popular dramatic literature. The increasing frequency of the occurrence of *par bieu* during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is very marked ; in dramatic pieces of the fifteenth it occurs approximately once in 2500 lines, in those of the first half of the sixteenth, once in 600 lines.

*Par bieu* is a very emphatic oath restricted to use in frivolous context. In the drama, it is found rarely in the *Moralités*, *Sotties* or *Sermons Joyeux*, but is frequent in the more outspoken and coarse farces, such as the *Farce Moralisée a IV*

1. Fabl., I, 103 ; first half of the thirteenth century ; Picard.



personnaiges <sup>1</sup>, the *Farce de Pathelin* <sup>2</sup>, *L'Avantureulz* <sup>3</sup>, etc.

Dame Anieuse is speaking to Sire Hain : *Par bieu, je ne vous doute guere, Fet cele, por vostre manace*, Fabl., I, 103. — *Et par bieu, tu es bien enfaine*, Rec. de Farces, 103. — *Feray. Et par bieu non feray, Que n'ayez prins vostre repas*, Farce de Pathelin, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 93. — *J'y prendrai peine si bien qu'il y perra, A quelque pris, par bieu, qu'il en advienne*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 62. — etc.

#### de par dieu <sup>4</sup> :

The first examples of this formula are found in the *Jeu St Nicholas* <sup>5</sup> and *Aucassin et Nicolette* <sup>6</sup>. It is comparatively frequent in the Courtly Epic <sup>7</sup> of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but is rare in the fabliaux <sup>8</sup>, the *Renart* <sup>9</sup> and the

1. Rec. de Farces, 115-161.

2. Th. frç. av. la Ren.

3. R. F. M. S.-J., III, 14.

4. I prefer the derivation of *de par*, in this use, out of *de parte Dei*, just as *de par le roi* out of *de parte regis*. Ebeling (ASNS., 110, 235) explains *de par dieu* as being in some cases from *de per deum*. He believes that the relation between *de* and *par* is not intimate, that the *de* depends upon a verb, and serves to introduce the asseverative phrase consisting of *par* plus its object. This opinion is expressed in a comment upon the passage *ele se reclaimme De par celui que il plus aime* etc. (Ch. lyon, 4071). In this and similar examples Ebeling's explanation would seem correct. It is possible that the same derivation may apply to *de par dieu*, etc., as independant oath-formulas. However, the regular adjurative function of these forms seems to me to make this improbable. The presence of an unrelated *de*, depending upon a verb to be supplied, should not, I believe, change the asseverative phrase of *par* plus its object into an adjurative phrase. Note the following examples in this connection.

*Sire, de la part dé, Veigniez vos a mon grant besaing !*, Ch. lyon, 4400. — *De part Dieu*, R. P. F., VIII, 32 (fourteenth century). — *Or sus, de parte deï, date nobis clochas nostras*, Rab., I, 71.

5. Th. frç. au m. a., 182.

6. 18, 37 ; 22, 24.

7. Guil. d'A., 83 ; Mer., 3244, 3864 ; Ch. ii. esp., 3694, 3737 ; Guil. Pal., 5214.

8. I, 307 ; III, 230 ; IV, 98, 101, 129.

9. XIII, 1185 ; XIV, 277.

chansons de geste<sup>1</sup>. It is found frequently in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*<sup>2</sup> and is repeatedly employed in popular and polite literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries<sup>3</sup>.

Originally *de par dieu* was an adverbial phrase meaning « on the part of God », « in the name of God », « from God ».

*garda, si vid grand claritet de cel vindré, fud de par deu*, Vie de St Léger, Bartsch und Horning, 13, 4. — Jesus speaks : *De par Dieu, en aussi bon point Que le baillez, le vous rendray*, Mir. ND., V, 697<sup>4</sup>.

The use of *de par dieu* as an asseverative oath to qualify statements, is very limited<sup>5</sup>. The few examples I have found of this use of the oath seem to be the result of confusion with *per dicu*.

*Et je le grant de par Dé*, Fabl., IV, 129. — *Je l'otri de par Dé*, MAym., 2403.

From the first the oath was regularly employed to emphasize expressions of prayer and command in adjectival function.

*Esprit, je t'adjure... Tu laisse se corps langoureux De par Dieu et retire toy*, Vie de St Mathurin, R. P. F., XII, 405. — *Qui li dist : Rois, va an essil ! De par Deu*, Guil. d'A., 83. — *Or le prenons de par Dieu*, RClary, 41 ; etc.

The syntactic function of *de par dieu* has developed further than that of most adjectival oaths. Numerous examples are found where it is used without any expressed imperative of request or command, and where, to complete the meaning,

1. MAym., 2403 ; Li Nerb., 2360.

2. I, 220, 298, 788 ; V, 697 ; VI, 133 ; IX, 1300 ; XII, 318 ; XIX, 206 ; XXIII, 1416 ; XXIX, 714 ; XXXV, 291.

3. Mist., I, 248 ; R. P. F., II, 6 ; ib., IV, 263 ; ib., VIII, 32 ; R. G. S., I, 40, 124 ; Rond., CLXI ; Rab., I, 19, 177, 303 ; etc.

4. See also : MAym., 2403 ; Fabl., IV, 129 ; R. P. F., IV, 263 ; Rond., CLXI.

5. Zöckler (p. 26) appears to consider *de par dieu* and *par dieu* as synonymous.

we must supply some imperative such as *va ! allez ! faites !*, or *dis !* In these examples we notice the frequent appearance of the particles *or* and *ça* in evidence of the ellipsis of an imperative.

The shepherd boys are speaking to Aucassin : *Mais, je le vos conterai, se vos volés. De par diu* (i. e. Please do !), *fait Aucassins, encor aim je mix conter que nient*, Auc., 22, 24. — A knight threatens to keep Ledoine in prison until she marry his son. She answers : *Or de par dieu* (i. e. Do so !), *je serai ci Tant com vostre plaisir sera*, Mer., 3864. — *Et de main a vous revenray Bien matinnet. De par Dieu ! je seray tout prest*, Mir. ND., XIX, 206. — *Or cza, de par dieu* (i. e. Say, then), *me doibz ie marier-?*, Rab., II, 172. — *Aler vueil aval la meson, Quar savoir vueil s'il i a ame. De par Dieu, sire, dist la dame*, Fabl., IV, 101<sup>1</sup>.

In some cases we find *de par dieu* employed in company with an interjection, being itself an interjection of pleasure. In these cases it is unnecessary to supply an imperative such as *va !*, *faites !* or *dites !* in order to complete the meaning of the sentence.

*Or ça, de par dieu, c'est bien dit*, R. P. F., II, 6. — *C'est le Monde ! Bien ! De par Dieu !*, R. G. S., I, 40. — *Sa ! de par Dieu ! j'ey cent escus !*, R. F. M. S-J., II, 4, 15.

#### **pour Dieu :**

As all forms of adjurative oaths, which are not frivolous or indecent in their signification, *pour dieu* occurs frequently in serious function especially in works of a serious character. It is found in the *Alexis*<sup>2</sup>, *Roland*<sup>3</sup> and the *Miracles* of Gautier de Coinsy<sup>4</sup>, in which texts *par dieu* in asseveration is not found, and shows many examples in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* where we have found only

1. Also : Fabl., III, 230 ; ib., IV, 98 ; Mir. ND., IX, 1300 ; Rab., I, 63.

2. Alex., XLIV, etc.

3. 1473, 1693, 1741, etc.

4. GCoins, 419, 719, etc.

three occurrences of *par dieu*<sup>1</sup>. In the chansons de geste, the fabliaux and the *Renart* the examples of *pour dieu* are in the proportion of one in 700 lines approximately, or almost twice as frequent as those of *par dieu*. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the employment of *pour dieu* becomes less frequent and *par dieu* shows about four times as many occurrences. Only in the religious drama do the asseverative and adjurative forms display the same frequency (viz. one to 1200 lines).

*Pour dieu* is employed regularly as an adjurative oath to modify verbs of prayer and imperatives :

*vos prient por Dieu que vous aiez*, Villeh., 12. — *Se por Deu merci me requist*, RCharr., 911. — *Donez, por Dieu*, Ruteb., II, 17. — *Pour Dieu, sire, or li pardonnés*, Rob. et Mar., 347. — *Pour Dieu, qu'il me soit pardonné*, R. P. F., IV, 90.

The imperative, supposedly *dis* ! or *dites* !, may be omitted, and the oath modify directly a question :

*Sire cumpainz, pur deu que vus en haitet* ?, Rol., 1693. — *Comant, por Deu, sont il donc troi* ?, Ch. lyon, 3615 ;

or be used independently with the imperative understood :

*Or vueil je le treske mener. Voire, pour Dieu* (i. e. Please do !), *mes amis dous*, Rob. et Mar., 772.

[**par celle (la)**] **foi que (je) dois (à) Dieu, par la foi que je dois dieu porter**<sup>2</sup>, **par foi que j'e Dieu**<sup>3</sup>, **par celle foi ke j'ai a deu porté**<sup>4</sup> and the corresponding adjurative forms [**par celle (la)**] **foi que vous (tu) devez (dois) à Dieu**, etc.

These forms occur throughout the period covered by this study in both profane and religious literature. Only in the

1. See above, pp. 11-13.

2. Alisc., 3165 ; Am. u. Am., 1005.

3. Otin., 285.

4. Alisc., 3285.

*Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* do they appear in frequent employment (once to 4500 lines).

The value of both the asseverative and adjurative forms is serious and emphatic. Even in the fabliaux and farces they occur rarely in a frivolous context.

*Il me vorra honnir, foy que doy Dieu le bel, Et me despendera tout m'en meuble catel*, HCap., 150. — *Par cele foi ke j'ai a deu porté, Je li donrai a mangier a plenté*, Alisc., 3285. — *Ja s'ocesist, foi que doi dieu, D'une grafe, quant l'apercui*, Fl. u. Bl., 1049. — *Nenin. Foy que ie doy a Dieu Vous aurés beau reformater*, R. F. M. S-J., I, 17, 6. — *S'il ne vient, par la foy que doy à Dieu je l'envoyray querir*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 364. — *Oil, alons, foy que tu doiz a Dieu, amis*, Mir. ND., XXXIII, 1468. — *Par celle foi que tu dois deu porter, Veëz tu homme qui me peust resambler*, Fl. u Bl. 93.

b) DIEU PRECEDED BY A POSSESSIVE OR ATTRIBUTIVE  
ADJECTIVE

This form of oath is late in appearing in common usage. No occurrences have been found in the chansons de geste or in the *Roman de Renart*. Our first example is from the works of Gautier de Coinsy<sup>1</sup>; one case occurs in the fabliaux<sup>2</sup> and one in Rutebeuf<sup>3</sup>. It is further found several times in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*<sup>4</sup>. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the oath becomes relatively frequent, especially in popular literature<sup>5</sup>. During these centuries occurrences of the interjectional forms without

1. *Par le grand Dieu*, GCoins., 561.

2. *Par le saint Dieu*, Fabl., II, 163.

3. *Por le grand Dé*, Ruteb., II, 235.

4. IV, 1196; V, 774, 1027; XXXV, 1119, 1273.

5. R. G. S., II, 363; R. F. M. S-J., I, 19, 25; ib., I, 5, 7; ib., IV, 3, 8; R. P. F., VI, 208; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 52, 135, 279; etc.



the preposition and article outnumber the full asseverative and adjurative forms. In certain cases such as *sacré dieu*! and *benoît dieu*! the asseverative and adjurative forms do not occur at all.

In general these oaths seem to be used in both asseveration and adjuration, although our examples do not prove this for every specific form. They were originally emphatic oaths of a serious character, as is shown by the fact that frequent employment of them is first found in religious literature. In the fifteenth century their serious character disappears, euphemistic forms are found such as *par le saint bien*<sup>1</sup> and *vray bis*<sup>2</sup>, and the context in which they are employed is usually distinctly frivolous.

#### 1. THE PRECEDING QUALIFIER IS A POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVE.

We must here discriminate between this oath as employed by Christians and a similar oath found frequently in the utterances of pagans or in utterances of Christians in address to pagans<sup>3</sup>. The pagan form the oath is generally in the plural, *par mes dieux*, *par nos dieux*, and if the singular *par mon dieu* be employed, it stands in apposition with the name of the pagan deity, so : *par mon dieu Mahomet*, etc. The Christian form of the oath is *par mon dieu*, etc.

This oath-form does not occur before the fifteenth, but occurs sporadically in this and the following century.

*Y ne fust jamais, par mon Dieu*, R. F. M. S.-J., II, 2, 9. — *Si bien assis que, par mon Dieu, Ilz en alloyent tous marmiteux*, R. P. F., X, 271<sup>4</sup>.

1. A. Th. frç., I, 334.

2. Rab., I, 203, 268, etc.

3. See below, p. 113.

4. See also : R. G. S., I, 210.

2. THE PRECEDING QUALIFIER IS AN ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVE.

**beau** (one example) :

*Beau Dieu, je l'ay veu en tel cours*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 135.

**benoît** (one example) :

*Et, benoist Dieu ! les belles tripes !*, R. F. M. S-J., I, 5, 7.

**bon** (very rare) :

*Dame, par le bon Dieu poissant, Li fait son vilain et orrible*, Mir. ND., IV, 1196 <sup>1</sup>.

**grand** (sporadic) :

Occurrences are found only in the religious literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and in the profane drama and poetry of the fifteenth.

*Par le grand Dieu, j'en ai esté Et sui encore si plain d'ire Qu'il me semble qu'on me martire*, Mir. ND., V, 1027. — *Par le grant Dieu, s'y ferons nous*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 5. — *Por le grant Dé ! quel mautalent !* Ruteb., II, 235 <sup>2</sup>.

**sacré** :

Within the period up to 1550 only two examples are known to me. Since that date the oath has become very frequent <sup>3</sup>.

1. See also : Rab., II, 21.

2. Also : GCoins., 561 ; Mir. ND., V, 774 ; ib., XXXV, 1119, 1273 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 5, 78 ; Chans. du xv<sup>e</sup> s., 80.

3. See Zöckler, s. v. *sacré*.

*Sacré Dieu vous chiriez par tout sus l'instant que les auriez veues*  
Rab., II, 508 <sup>1</sup>.

**saint** (rare) :

Only three examples are known to me.

*Par le saint Diu, chiez respondi, Li consaus en gist tous en mi,*  
Fabl. II, 163 <sup>2</sup>.

**(très) puissant** (one example) :

*Par le trespuissant Dieu, j'en jure,* Mist., I, 255.

**vrai** :

Not found before the fifteenth century. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries its employment is characteristic of popular literature. The interjectional form (*le*) *vrai dieu* <sup>3</sup> (*bis* <sup>4</sup>) is much more frequent than the asseverative form *par le vrai dieu* <sup>5</sup>.

*Or, par le vray Dieu, j'ay grant faim De voir, etc.,* R. G. S., II, 362. — *Commere, sca-vous que faisoit Mon bon marchand ? Par le vray Dieu, Il me battoit,* R. P. F., VI, 182. — *Le luy veulx, vraybis, constituer... quelque bonne rente,* Rab., II, 91. — *Mais, quant j'ay bien le cas congnu, Vray Dieu ! on y fait maintz abus,* R. P. F., XII, 89.

1. Also : ib., II, 509.

2. Also : Gar. Loh., I, 41 ; A. Th. frç., I, 334.

3. Chans. du xv<sup>e</sup> s., 4 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 279 ; R. P. F., VI, 208 ; ib., IX, 101 ; ib., XII, 89 ; R. F. M. S.-J., I, 19, 25 ; ib., IV, 3, 8 ; Rab., I, 376 ; ib., II, 122, 198, 414.

4. Rab., II, 32, 91, 289, 442, 446, 461, 501 ; ib., III, 186.

5. R. P. F., VI, 182 ; R. G. S., II, 362, 363 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 153.

c) *DIEU*, EXPRESSED OR UNDERSTOOD, WITH A  
FOLLOWING ADJECTIVE OR APPOSITIVE QUALIFIER

This form of invocation of *dieu* differs widely from the preceding form, where the qualifier precedes *dieu*, both in the matter of literary and chronological usage and of syntactic function. As seen above, the latter type of oath is characteristic of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and furnishes only sporadic examples for the centuries preceding. Oaths of the type *par (pour) dieu le beau*, *par (pour) dieu le spirituel*, etc., on the other hand, are with few exceptions<sup>1</sup> confined to the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Their occurrence is especially frequent in the *chansons de geste* (one to each 650 lines) and the *Miracles de Notre Dame par personnages* (one to 4000 lines).

The context of these oaths is serious or even religious, as opposed to the frivolous nature of invocations with a preceding qualifier. They were probably never oaths in popular spoken usage. Their form was undoubtedly largely determined by the demands of the rhyme, as, generally, the following adjective or substantive qualifier stands in rhyme-position.

The different forms of the oath occur in both asseveration and adjuration. No occurrences of the interjectional form have been found.

**dieu le beau** (rare) :

*Il me vorra honnir, foy que doy Dieu le bel*, HCap., 150.

1. R. P. F., IV, 7; R. F. M. S.-J., IV, 12, 11; ib., II, 15, 24.

**(dieu) le créateur** (rare) :

*Qui me faudra, par Deu le criator, Ja de ma terre ne tenra mais plain dor,* Jourd. Bl., 3858 <sup>1</sup>.

**dieu le débonnaire** (rare) :

*Et moy, par Dieu le debonnaire,* Mir. ND., II, 1045 <sup>2</sup>.

**dieu le droiturier** (sporadic) :

*E ! R. sire, por Dieu le droiturier, Pitié te pregne,* RCambr., 3077 <sup>3</sup>.

**dieu le spirituel** <sup>1</sup> (sporadic) :

*Mais or croi jou, par Dieu l'esperital, Ja portant poi garde ne s'en donra,* HBord., 5471 <sup>5</sup>.

**dieu le glorieux** (one example) :

*Por Dieu le glorieux, dist le seigneur, il n'a en ce siècle, etc.,* Sept Sages, 27.

**dieu le grand :**

This formula has not been found outside of the chansons de geste, where it is one of the most frequently employed oaths of this class.

*Herbergiés moi pōr Dé(x) le grant,* Aiol, 3869. — *Mercit, por Dieu le grant,* RCambr., 7636. — etc.

1. Also : GCoins., 546 ; Chans. du xv<sup>e</sup> s., 100.

2. Also : Mir. ND., XXVIII, 212.

3. Also : RCambr., 2020 ; R. F. M. S.-J., IV, 12, 11.

4. Old French *esperital*, *esperitable*.

5. Also : Ren., IV, 361, etc.



**dieu miséricordieux** (one example) :

*Par le grand Dieu misericors Tu ne vaulx rien qu'a dire mal,*  
R. F. M. S-J., II, 17, 11.

**dieu omnipotent** :

This formula is by far the most frequent of this class of invocations in the chansons de geste (one occurrence to every 2800 lines). It is however found only rarely outside of that form of literature <sup>1</sup>.

*Filz Miles, que ferons, par Dieu onnipotent,* Orson, 3205. — *Mais si uns (suls) en fault, par Deu omnipotent, Demain les ferai pendre en sun cel pin al vent,* Karls R., 759. — etc.

**dieu notre père** (one example) :

*Vos dîtes voir, par Dieu no pere,* Fabl., III, 108.

**dieu le père glorieux** (one example) :

*Par Dieu le pere glorious, Ce est un leu que vous traiez,* Ren., IV, 397.

**dieu le puissant** (rare) :

*Hé ! le vray Dieu trestout puissant ! Qu'est-ce cela ?*, R. P. F., VI, 208 <sup>2</sup>.

(dieu) le (doux) (haut) (vrai) roi céleste, — glorieux, — hautisme, — puissant, — souverain, — du firmament, — de gloire, — de majesté, — du monde, are formulas of invocation much favored by the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personages*. Examples outside of these *Miracles* are rare <sup>3</sup>. In 90 % of the examples *dieu* is omitted and *le roi* plus its qualifier is

1. See Fabl., V, 224.

2. Also : Li Nerb., 2360.

3. Gayd., 3296 ; Li Nerb., 735 ; Fabl., VI, 91 ; Ruteb., I, 159 ; Guil. Pal., 5214.

a circumlocution. (*Dieu*) *le (doux) roi céleste* is the only one of these forms that is employed frequently (one example to each 7000 lines of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personages*).

*Dame, par Dieu le roy celestre, Bien vous recevray pour hostage,* Mir. ND., XXIII, 786. — *E ! dame, pour le roy celestre, Ma requeste ne vous enuit,* ib., XXVII, 1475. — *Par le doulx roy du firmament, Dame, sachiez talent n'en ay,* ib., II, 556. — *Mes, foi que doi le roi celestre, Je le lairai,* Fabl., VI, 91 <sup>1</sup>.

**(dieu) le (notre) seigneur** (sporadic) :

*Par le segneur du chiel, qui tout fist et fourma, Si homme sonmez tuit,* Doon, 815. — *Mais tout franc cueur doit, pour nostre Seigneur, Sans emperir, ung pouvre secourir,* Vill., 43 <sup>2</sup>.

**le dieu vivant** (one example) :

*Par le Dieu viſ, la chose est toute veritable,* R. F. M. S.-J, II, 15, 24.

**dieu le vrai** (one example) :

*Voulentiers, suer, par Dieu le vray,* Mir. ND., XXVII, 1526.

**dieu du ciel :**

This oath occurs in the chansons de geste approximately once to every 9000 lines. It is not found elsewhere.

*Oil, par Dé del ciel,* Cov. Viv., 1113. — *Por Deu del ciel, sire, merci vos cri,* Jourd. Bl., 3323 <sup>3</sup>.

**dieu de majesté :**

The oath is characteristic of the chansons de geste, where

1. Also : Mir. ND., II, 556, 1093 ; ib., X, 36 ; ib., XII, 7 ; ib., XV, 1091 ; ib., XXIII, 176, 958 ; etc.

2. Also : Rec. de Farces, 100 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 247.

3. Also : Jourd. Bl., 242 ; etc.

it occurs once to 9000 lines. One example is found in *Aucassin et Nicolette* <sup>1</sup>.

*Merci, frans cuens, por Deu de magesté*, Cor. Lo., 2231. — *Par Dieu de maisté ! Chascun de nos s'en ira a son tré*, Li Nerb., Ms. D. E., 192y. — etc.

**dieu du monde** (one example) :

*Mais, par la foi que devez Deu del mont, Por quoi haez Amile le baron ?*, Am. u. Am., 1202.

**dieu de paradis** :

The occurrence of this oath in the chansons de geste is in the proportion of one example to every 9000 lines. Elsewhere its use is sporadic <sup>2</sup>.

*Dist Gaselins : par dieu de paradis Se Baudouins savoit ore ces dis Et ces noveles, tu seroies honnis*, Aub(a)., 125. — etc.

d) *DIEU*, OR A SUBSTITUTE, FOLLOWED BY A RELATIVE  
CLAUSE

The oaths of this class do not display the distinct chronological restriction of usage observed in the two preceding classes of oaths. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries show a greater preference for these oaths than the centuries following, but occurrences are not infrequent in the dramatic Miracles of the fourteenth century (one to 9000 lines) and in the popular literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth <sup>3</sup>. Their occurrence in the chansons de geste is once in each 600 lines ;

1. 17, 15.

2. Mir. ND., XXIII, 264 ; R. P. F., IV, 7 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 78.

3. R. P. F., IX, 106, 284 ; ib., XII, 318 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 24, 28, 36, 64, 77, 365 ; R. G. S., I, 145.

in the *Renart*, once in 2850 lines ; in the fabliaux, once in 4300 lines.

From the point of view of grammatical form this class of oaths may be divided into four groups : (1) *dieu* plus qualifier ; (2) *le, cel* or *cest dieu* plus qualifier ; (3) *ce, cel, ichel, celui*, etc., *seigneur* plus qualifier ; (4) *celui, iccelui*, etc. plus qualifier. The relative frequency of occurrence of these four forms is in the ratio 9, 9, 8, 6. Examples of the forms (3) and (4) are rare outside of the chansons de geste<sup>1</sup>. The chansons de geste show no preference for any one of the forms.

The emphasizing force of this form of oath is very strong. Even in frivolous context its function is generally serious. The different forms are found in both asseverative and adjuvative function but are poorly adapted to interjectional use and are not so used apparently.

*mes je vos pri Que vos aïiez de moi merci Por cel Deu qui est fiz et pere*, RCharr., 2835. — *Car, par celui qui est Diex posteis, Ne m'engerei tant com tu soiés vis*, HBord., 766. — *Que par celi qui me fourma, Se vos mes convens me tenés, Renart si ert mal atornés*, Ren., XI, 1064. — *Par Dieu qui me fist a s'ymage, Autrement point n'en porterés*, Fabl., VI, 65. — *Mais par le Dieu en cui je crois, Il te sera bien cher vendu*, R. P. F., XII, 318. — *Mais par le Dieu qui me fist naistre, Le cuer n'auroy pas si commun*, R. P. F., IX, 106.

If we classify these oaths on the basis of the character of the qualification in the modifying clause, we find eight groups : (1) God by name ; (2). God the object of prayer, love, etc. ; (3). God the object of belief ; (4). God the creator ; (5) God the omnipotent ; (6) God the truthful ; (7) God the judge ; (8) God the saviour.

1. Examples of form (3) : Guil. Pal., 589, 7126 ; Ren., XXIII, 106 ; Ruteb. I, 9 ; Mir. ND., VI, 364. Examples of form (4) : Mer., 1498 ; Ren., XI, 1064, 1512 ; ib., IX, 1306 ; Mir. ND., XXXIV, 1680 ; Eust. Desch., I, 273 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 64.

### 1. GOD BY NAME.

Found only in the chansons de geste and the Courtly Epic of the thirteenth century.

*Mes par celui qui Dieus a non, Vous n'estes pas vers moi cortoise,* Mer., 1498. — *Que par ichel signeur ki Dix est apelés, Je vauroie moult miex que fuissiés desmembrés,* Fier., 144 <sup>1</sup>.

### 2. GOD THE OBJECT OF PRAYER, LOVE, etc.

Oaths of this group are found at all periods. They are more frequent in the chansons de geste than elsewhere.

*Mes par celui en cui j'ai ma fiance, Or ne quier mes porter escu ne lance,* Orenge, 209. — *Par celui cui li pecheor Prient de cuer parfondement, Trop avez fet grant hardement,* Fabl., IV, 76. — *Par Dieu que chascun doit amer, De forvoier sui en doubance,* Th. frç. av. la Ren., 28 <sup>2</sup>.

### 3. GOD THE OBJECT OF BELIEF.

Distinguished from the other groups of this classification by its absence from the chansons de geste. It occurs sporadically in the *Renart* and the Courtly Epic.

*Que par cest Deu en cui je croi, Je vos manrai devant le roi,* Guil. d'A., 1859. — *Par dieu le pere en cui je croi, Quant je te voi ne quier autrui,* Ren., V, 20 <sup>3</sup>.

### 4. GOD THE CREATOR.

This is by far the most frequently used form of this class of oaths, including approximately one third of the total number of examples. Occurrences are found at all periods. In 50 % of the examples the relative clause has the form

1. Also : Otin., 1077 ; HBord., 766.

2. Also : Jourd. Bl., 1025 ; Li Nerb., 5384 ; RCambr., 5460 ; Fabl., III, 234 ; Mir. ND., XXXI, 1575 ; R. P. F., IX, 284.

3. Also : Guil. Pal., 7126 ; Ren., XI, 1512 ; R. P. F., XIII, 318.



*qui me créa (forma) or qui me fit naître* <sup>1</sup>. Other forms occurring more than once are : *par ce seigneur qui fit ciel et rosée* <sup>2</sup> and *par dieu qui fit le monde* <sup>3</sup>.

*Car, par celui qui le mont establi; Li fil H. n'z sont mie failli*, RCambr., 1623. — *Dame, dist il, par Deu qui fist le mont, Nul bel semblant faire ne vez poons*, Am. u. Am., 1191. — *Par Dieu, qui fist mer et onde, C'est li plus biaux praiiaus du monde*, Fabl. III, 83. — *Vous n'en serez mie desdite, Dame, par Dieu qui fist la terre*, Mir. ND., XXXIV, 1995. — *Par le seigneur qui me fist naistre, Curé, vous avez moult bien fait*, ib., VI, 364 <sup>4</sup>.

#### 5. GOD THE OMNIPOTENT.

In this group we may include a number of oaths, for the most part confined to the chansons de geste, which invoke God in the light of his material power.

*Par celui qui haut siet et loins voit*, RCambr., 5949. — *Par celui qui fist croistre resin*, Gayd., 3592. — *Par ichel Segnour qui tout a a baillier*, Fier., 425. — *Per chel diu, ki fait corre les nues*, ACarth., 614. — *Par celui qui jet toner*, Ren., IX, 1306. — *Par Dieu qui nous donne lumiere*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 24. — etc.

#### 6. GOD THE TRUTHFUL.

The oaths of this group are found at all periods. In the chansons de geste they occur more frequently than any other group of this classification.

*Ceste bataille ne voil maitre en oubli, Faite sera, par Deu qui ne menti*, Am. u. Am., 1396. — *Qui la morra, par Dieu qui ne menti, Vilain reproche ne sera dit de lui*, Li Nerb., 4393. — *Que par cheli*

1. Ren., XI, 1064; Guil. Pal., 589; HCap., 681; Fabl., III, 167; ib., I, 20; Mir. ND., VI, 364; ib., II, 570; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 89, 99; R. P. F., IX, 106.

2. Aym., 1650; Jourd. Bl., 2544.

3. Am. u. Am., 1191; Fabl., III, 100, 228; Mir. ND., IV, 125.

4. Also : RCambr., 2772; Gaufr., 1055; Li Nerb., 476; Guil. Pal., 430; Fabl., VI, 65; Mir. ND., VI, 569; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 365.

*Segneur qui oncques ne menti. Onques vers mon segneur traïson ne basti*, Doon, 765 <sup>1</sup>,

7. GOD THE JUDGE.

*Par cel seigneur par cui somes jugié, Je m'en irai en mon pais a pié*, Aub(a)., 230 <sup>2</sup>.

8. GOD THE SAVIOUR.

*Par celui Dieu qui mainte ame a salvee*, Li Nerb., 463. — *Par cel signor qui le mont puet salver*, Alisc., 3769 <sup>3</sup>.

e) INDIRECT INVOCATION OF *DIEU* THROUGH THE MEDIUM  
OF SOME ABSTRACT ATTRIBUTE

**âme** (rare) :

This rare oath-form seems to be derived from *par mon âme* by the substitution of *dieu* for the person of the speaker with the aim of increasing the emphasis.

*Par l'ame Deu, vous avez tort, Fait la meschine, ce me sanble*, Fabl., VI, 143 <sup>4</sup>.

**amour** :

This attribute is found only in the adjurative formula *pour l'amour de dieu*. It occurs in common usage at all periods and in all forms of literature. Occurrences are more numerous in religious than in profane literature.

1. Also : Auc., 19, 17 ; Jourd. Bl., 697 ; Li Nerb., 896 ; Orson, 914 ; Gaufr., 5408 ; Ren., IV, 456 ; ib., XVII, 513 ; R. G. S., I, 145 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 77.

2. Also : Eust. Desch., I, 273 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 64.

3. Also : Doon, 873 ; Li Nerb., 6348.

4. Also : Chr. de Troyes, Parc., 2590 (Zöckler).

*Por amur deu, car m'entendez, baron, Rol. 3768. — Por amor Dieu qui tot a a salver, N'i alez mie, Li Nerb., 4528. — En plorant li requiert et prie Por amor Dieu que il li die De son fil qu'il li est devenuz, Fabl., I, 166. — Sire, pour l'amour Dieu le vray, Vostre nom requier assavoir, Mir. ND., XXIII, 118. — N'espargnez la sueur de mon cors, pour l'amour de dieu, Rab., II, 355. — etc.*<sup>1</sup>.

**foi** (rare) :

*Voirement la vot metre en son lit a bandon Quant si neveu li dient : Par la foi Dieu, vos non, Aye, 1230.*

Du Cange<sup>2</sup> quotes an example of this oath in the form *per Domini fidem* in an utterance of Robert of France (922-923). A second example is found in the sixteenth century.

*Me le permetés-vous ? Ouy, Foy de Dieu ? Voyre, droicturier, R. F. M. S-J., IV, 12, 11.*

This example is a confusion of *dieu le droiturier*<sup>3</sup> with a form *foi de dieu* employed in imitation of the oaths *foi de gentilhomme*, *foi d'honnête homme*, etc.<sup>4</sup>.

**honneur** (one example) :

*Prenez cel enfant En l'honneur du biau roy puissant, Mir. ND., I, 405.*

**merci** :

Found in both asseveration and adjuration. The adjurative form *pour la merci de dieu* is frequent in all forms of literature down to the fifteenth century.

*Segnour, pour Dieu merci, ne laissiés pas ceste ville, Joinv., 399.*

1. For additional examples, see Tolle, pp. 24-25.

2. See : s. v. « Juramentum », quoted from Helgaldus, p. 64 ff.

3. See above, p. 23.

4. See below, p. 131-132.

— *Venez vous ent, pour Dieu mercy, A ly parler*, Mir. ND., VIII, 385. — etc.

Asseverations by this attribute of God appear first in the fifteenth century and are never frequent.

*Mais, par la marcy Dieu, j'en jure, Quant j'en auray bien attendu, Ung coup feray a l'aventure*, R. P. F., II, 247. — *La mercy Dieu, j'eschappay et m'en vins*, Chans. du xv<sup>e</sup> s., 59<sup>1</sup>.

**nom :**

Invocations of this attribute have been very frequent, especially in the period preceding the fifteenth century. There are numerous forms of invocation, most of them being however sporadic in their occurrence. The use of the interjectional form and of *par* and *pour* as introductory prepositions is very rare.

*Oil, non Dieu ! que li feray jeo ?*, Mir. ND., XXXIII, 1444. — *Par les nons Dieu, s'il nous eschape, Chascuns aura perdu sa chape*, Fabl., I, 278. — *Mon chier ami, pour le Dieu nom, Pardonnez li*, Mir. ND., XXXIII, 296<sup>2</sup>.

The oath-forms invoking God's name in common usage are introduced with the prepositions *en* and *à*. The following forms have been found : *el (o, ou) nom de dieu*, *en nom dieu* (with its variant forms *e nom dieu*, *an non dieu* and *a nom dieu*) and *au nom de dieu*. The full forms of invocation *el (o, ou) nom de dieu*<sup>3</sup> and *au nom de dieu*<sup>4</sup> are found sporadically in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

1. Also : R. P. F., XI, 355 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 282.

2. Also : Mir. ND., XI, 64 ; ib., XXIII, 1324 ; ib., XXXIII, 1446.

3. Cov. Viv., 1150 ; Fabl., I, 176 ; Mir. ND., IV, 907 ; ib., VI, 825 ; ib., XXI, 220 ; Chans. du xv<sup>e</sup> s., 49, 56 ; Mich. et Pouj., IV, 566 ; Rab., I, 168 ; ib., II, 344.

4. R. P. F., I, 46 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 365 ; Rab., I, 112.

The regular form of the oath, *en nom dieu*, with its variant forms, is confined to the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but during this period its occurrence is very common. In the chansons de geste it occurs approximately once in 1100 lines, being surpassed in number of occurrences by *par dieu*, *pour dieu*, and *par mon chief* only ; in the fabliaux, once in 2500 lines ; in the Courtly Epic <sup>1</sup> with comparative frequency ; in *Aucassin et Nicolette* <sup>2</sup>, Joinville <sup>3</sup> and Robert de Clary <sup>4</sup> sporadically. No examples are found in the *Renart*.

The lengthened forms *el (o, ou) nom de dieu* and *au nom de dieu*, to judge from my examples, occur only in adjurative function.

*El nom de Dieu... Ceste fame ne saisissiez*, Fabl., I, 176. — *Or entendez, au nom de Dieu*, R. P. F., I, 46. — *Accapayez, ou nom de dieu*, Rab., II, 344. — *Alons m'en, puis qu'il vous agree, O nom de Dieu*, Mir. ND., VI, 825. — etc.

*En nom dieu* and its variants are asseverative and perform certain definite functions. *En nom dieu* is never employed to qualify serious statements of promise or threat. The emphasis it gives to the statement modified is so slight that its nature seems to be adverbial rather than asseverative. In 50 % of the examples it qualifies the answer to a question or request expressed or implied. Its value in these cases seems to be that of an emphatic « in truth », « indeed », etc.

*Combien as gent por guere commencier ? En nom Dieu, dame, bien seront .x. milliers*, RCambr., 1037. — In reply to the offer of Narbonne as a fief : *En nom Dieu... Viex sui et freiles*, Aym., Narb., 564. — *Coment le fait Anseis notre roi ? En nom Dieu, fille, mout est gentis en soi*, ACarth., 512. — *Amis, dist il, ou est tes sire alez ? Et cil respont : A la cort, en nom Dé*, Gayd., 374. — *Ba, comment, fist li rois, de ne sui jou sires et rois de laiens ? En non Dieu, fist*

1. Ch. Lyon, 1807 ; Guil. Pal., 2950, 7392 ; Escoufle, 3939, 7626.

2. 10, 78.

3. 48, 327.

4. 27.



*li marchis, ne sirez ne rois ne n'estes vous*, RClary, 27. — *Sire, que faites-vous ? Que feiz-je donc ? feiz-je. En nom Dieu, fist il, vous mengiez char au vendredi*, Joinv., 327. — *Marote, veus tu plus de mi ? O je, en nom Dieu*, Rob. et Mar., 680. — etc.

In approximately 30 % of its examples the oath, though not following an expressed or implied question or request, is uttered in response to a preceding speech. It generally expresses either assent or dissent. Here again the translation « Yes indeed » or « No indeed », or simply « Hum ! », is appropriate.

*Dame, par tous les sains d'Orliens, C'est une grue grant et bele. En nom Dieu, fet la damoisele, Ele est mout granz et parcreue*, Fabl., V, 152. — *Che sont beles dames parees. En nom Dieu, sire, ains sont beles fees*, Th. frç. au m. a., 76<sup>1</sup>.

The function of the oath, as seen in the above two groups of examples, is asseverative. In a few examples, where *en nom dieu* emphasizes the answer to a question or the response to a speech, the verb is in the imperative. The function of the oath is still asseverative however.

*S'il puet son ventre vuidier Il ne fust mie si mal mis. En nom dieu, fet Jougles, ains Sachiez que l'en ne chie mie Le jor c'on espouse s'amie*, Fabl., IV, 115<sup>2</sup>.

In a number of examples *en nom dieu* is used by messengers, ambassadors, etc., to introduce their speeches ; it also not infrequently follows the verb *appeler*, being employed apparently as an exclamatory hail.

*Au sor G. l'est on alés noncier Dedans Aras en son palais plaingnier. En non Dieu, sire, or vait a l'anprier*, RCambr., 8569. — *Un messagiers le vet au roi conter : En non Dieu, sire, molt fetes a blasmer*, Aym. Narb., 2268. — *Hervieu a apelé Kallemaine au ris fier : En non Dieu, enperere, bien me devés aidier*, GNant., 1224. —

1. Also : Fabl., I, 309 ; IV, 115 ; V, 152.

2. RCambr., 5694.

*Ou qu'il voit roi Hugon, si l'an a apelé : En non Dieu, dit li traitres, un petit m'antandez*, Par. Duch., 2948<sup>1</sup>.

In cases not covered by the above given grouping, approximately 8 % of all examples, *en nom dieu* is employed as other unemphatic oaths.

*Sorent se plaint e dist a li : En non Dieu, bele, mar vos vi*, Guil. Pal., 2950. — Auberi faints from sorrow. Garselin says : *En non dieu, sire, or va de mal en pis*, Aub(a)., 18. — etc.

**puissance (rare) :**

*par la puissance Dieu, se vous ne le menez a la justice, je vous feray pendre*, Sept Sages, 20. — *O nom la poissance haultaine, Requérons touz baptesme avoir*, Mir. ND., XX, 1436.

**vertu :**

Before the fifteenth century only sporadic occurrences are found.

*Foi que doi Dieu et sa vertu*, RCharr., 2018. — *par dieu et par sa vertu*, Ren., XVI, 786. — *pour la vertu divine*, Mir. ND., XVIII, 1201.

The form (*par*) (*la*) *vertu dieu*, with numerous euphemistic variants, appears first at the end of the fifteenth century. It is found repeatedly in the drama and poetry of the first half of the sixteenth century and is especially frequent in Rabelais.

The full asseverative form *par la vertu de dieu* (*par les vertus de dieu*) is not frequent outside of Rabelais<sup>2</sup>. Rabelais generally employs the form without euphemism<sup>3</sup>. Euphemism in the full asseverative form occurs through substitution for *dieu* in

1. Also : Am. u. Am., 129, 187, 1944 ; RCambr., 5968 ; Aub(a)., 68.

2. A. Th. frq., II, 129, 336 ; R. F. M. S.-J., II, 8, 18 ; ib., II, 4, 40.

3. I, 333 ; II, 88, 111, 318, 325, 341, 510 ; III, 206-207.

*Par la vertu, dirent ilz, non pas d'un petit poisson, un préux,* Rab., I, 126. — *Par la vertus (dist frere Ian) du sang, de la chair, du ventre, de la teste,* ib., II, 341 ;

through omission of *dieu* in

*par la vertu non feray,* R. F. M. S-J., II, 8, 18. — *Sy ferés vous par la vertu,* ib., II, 4, 40.

The shortened form *la vertu bieu* (= *dieu*) with the preposition omitted is rare :

*La vertu bieu, je meurs de duel,* R. P. F., XIII, 34<sup>1</sup>.

The interjectional form *vertu dieu*, etc., with neither preposition nor article, is the most common form of invocation of *la vertu*, both in Rabelais and in the drama and poetry from 1500 to 1550<sup>2</sup>. In Rabelais the form *vertu dieu* is usual, but his work furnishes a number of examples of strengthened and euphemistic forms, as : *digne vertus de dieu*<sup>3</sup>, *vertusguoy*<sup>4</sup>, *vertus beuf de boys*<sup>5</sup>, *vertus d'un petit poisson*<sup>6</sup>, and *vertus d'aulture que d'ung petit poisson*<sup>7</sup>. In the drama and poetry *vertu bieu* is the usual form ; *vertu goy*<sup>8</sup> and *vertu*<sup>9</sup> occur sporadically. *Vertus de Acheron*<sup>10</sup> and *vertus de Styx*<sup>11</sup> are two oaths found in utterances of Jupiter in Rabelais, which represent imitation in parody of *vertu de dieu* ; note also *vertu tron bifet*<sup>12</sup>.

Invocations of the virtue of God, as employed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are emphatic frivolous

1. Also : R. P. F., VI, 205.

2. R. P. F., XII, 232 ; Rec. de Farces, 146 ; R. F. M. S-J., I, 21, 15 ; ib., II, 9, 7 ; ib., III, 3, 11 ; Rab., I, 104, 147 ; II, 298, 306 ; etc.

3. II, 141.

4. II, 34, 352 ; III, 112.

5. II, 102.

6. II, 387.

7. II, 159.

8. R. F. M. S-J., III, 3, 10 ; A. Th. frç., I, 130.

9. R. F. M. S-J., III, 1, 7 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 279.

10. Rab., II, 63.

11. Rab., II, 298 ; ib., III, 195.

12. R. F. M. S-J., III, 14, 6.

oaths. Their occurrence characterizes literature of a popular and burlesque nature.

*Elle est, s'escria Panurge, par la vertu dieu, rumpue, ou feslee que ie ne mente, Rab., III, 170. — Je croy, par la vertus Dieu, qu'il est Haereticque, ib., II, 108. — Et par la vertu non feray, R. F. M. S-J., II, 8, 18. — Vertus dieu, i'ay eu du pasetemps pour plus de cinquante mille francs, Rab., II, 297. — Vertu, sy quelque un se rebelle, Y ne feras pas pour la myeux, R. F. M. S-J., III, 14, 7, — etc.*

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## 2. GOD THE SON<sup>1</sup>

### a) THE NAME OF CHRIST

The name of Christ is relatively uncommon in oaths. It is sporadically invoked in various oath-forms, but is found in no fixed formula of frequent occurrence. Almost all my examples of these oaths are from the chansons de geste and *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*. I have noted only the following examples outside of these two genres.

*Par Jhesu Crist, le filz Marie*, Ren., IV, 138. — *pur Jhesu Crist*, Fabl., II, 20. — *por Jhesu-Crist*, Th. frq. au m. a., 33. — *foy que doy au roi Jesu*, ib., 127. — *pour l'amour de Iesus Christ*, R. F. M. S-J., IV, 8, 27<sup>2</sup>.

In the chansons de geste and the dramatic miracles the following forms of invocation have been found : *par Jésus*<sup>3</sup> ; *par Jésus le père esperitable*<sup>4</sup> ; *foi que (je) dois (à) Jésus*<sup>5</sup> ; *par le roi Jésus*<sup>6</sup> ; *de par le roi Jésus*<sup>7</sup> ; *pour le doux roi Jésus*<sup>8</sup> ; *pour le corps de Jésus*<sup>9</sup> ; *au nom de Jésus*<sup>10</sup> ; *par Jésus Christ*<sup>11</sup> ; *pour Jésus Christ*<sup>12</sup> ; *par le très doux Jésus Christ*<sup>13</sup> ; *par le corps de Jésus Christ*<sup>14</sup> ; *par la foi de Jésus*

1. See above, p. 11.

2. For *Saint Gris*, see below, p. 82.

3. ACarth., 473.

4. Am. u. Am., 654.

5. Aym. Narb., 2331 ; BSebourg., I, 65, 94, 168 (L.) ; BBouillon, 4425 (L.).

6. Mir. ND., VII, 560.

7. Li Nerb., 6666.

8. Mir. ND., VI, 459.

9. RCambr., 4638.

10. Mir. ND., XXII, 237.

11. HBord., 6930 ; BSebourg., I, 204 (L.) ; Mir. ND., VIII, 545.

12. BBouillon, 2434 (L.).

13. Mir. ND., VI, 1241.

14. Mir. ND., XVI, 710.



*Christ*<sup>1</sup>; *par saint Christ*<sup>2</sup>; *par la foi que je dois à Jésus Christ*<sup>3</sup>.

The occurrence of this oath in the chansons de geste and the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* proves it to be a solemn religious form of attestation. The social rank of the speakers employing these oaths serves further to indicate this. In the dramatic miracles one example<sup>4</sup> is in the utterances of an esquire, one<sup>5</sup> in those of a knight, the rest are spoken by members of the clergy. In the chansons de geste members of the royal class show some liking for this kind of oath<sup>6</sup>. The example *par Jhesu Crist* (HBord., 6930) occurs in the words of a Saracen princess recently converted to Christianity and is evidently employed by her as an indication of her change of religious faith.

As befits an oath of this serious nature, it is used to emphasize solemn statements of intention and fact :

*Car par Jesu le verai creator, Ains me lairoie oïhirre a desonor  
Ke cose fache dont vous aiés iror, ACarth., 473. — Seignor, dist il,  
n'en soiez irascu, Nel fis por mal, foi que doi a Jesu, Aym. Narb.,  
2331. — Par Jhesu Crist, qui je veul aourer, Je garderai Huon ma  
loiauté, HBord, 6930. — Mon seigneur, par le roi Jhesu, Sachiez  
s'en vostre point estoie Qu'a ceste foiz encore yroie Elle gaittier,  
Mir. ND., VII, 560.*

1. BSebourg., I, 179 (L.).

2. HBord., 1437, 2218.

3. HBord., 1050.

4. VII, 560.

5. VI, 1241.

6. Am. u. Am., 654 (a princess); Aym. Narb., 2331 (king Boniface); HBord., 1437 (Charlemagne).

b) AN EXPRESSION DESIGNATING CHRIST QUALIFIES  
*DIEU* OR A SUBSTITUTE OR STANDS AS A CIRCUMLOCUTION  
FOR *DIEU*

1. THE EXPRESSION IS AN ADJECTIVE PHRASE.

**le fils de (sainte) Marie :**

Found once in 7000 lines in the chansons de geste and sporadically elsewhere.

*Se gel disoie, par dieu le fil Marie, Plus qu'a un homme ma foi seroit mentie*, RCambr., 4301. — *Non, dame, par le fil Marie*, Fabl., I, 129<sup>1</sup>.

**son (i. e. de dieu) fils (one example) :**

*Qui li dist : Rois, va an essil ! De par Deu et de par son fil Le te di gié*, Guil. d'A., 83.

**le rédempteur<sup>2</sup> :**

Confined to the chansons de geste, where it occurs approximately once in 7000 lines.

*Dist Savaris : Par Dieu le raient, Vo traisons voz revenra devant*, Gayd., 4526<sup>2</sup>.

**le (saint) sauveur :**

Found in scattered occurrences at all periods.

1. Also : Jourd. Bl., 587, 3055, 3270 ; ACarth., 6315 ; Prise de Cordres, 929 ; Escoufle, 924 ; Auc., 5, 23 ; Mir. ND., XXXI, 1825 ; etc.

2. O. F. *royamant*, etc.

3. Also : HCap., 4266 ; Orson, 3207 ; Aub(a), 23 ; etc.

*Par Deu le sauveor, Vos dites bien*, Aym. Narb., 1288. — *Onques mes, par le sauveor, Ne vi si fol ne si musart*, Fabl., II, 262. — *Il est vray, par saint Saulveur !*, R. F. M. S-J., III, 11, 1<sup>1</sup>.

**mon seigneur de saint Jérusalem** (one example) :

*Par mon segnor seint Jursalem, Ne fo~~t~~ itel trovés oan*, Ren. Ib., 2449.

## 2. THE EXPRESSION IS A RELATIVE CLAUSE.

These oath-forms are more or less characteristic of the chansons de geste, though occasional examples occur in the *Renart*<sup>2</sup>, the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*<sup>3</sup> and later<sup>4</sup>. The form of the relative clause varies greatly. Generally reference is made to the birth or passion of Christ, but no fixed formula is found. I mention the following representative forms<sup>5</sup> : *Par le saint-sauveor qui tout a a jugier*<sup>6</sup> ; *par celui c'on apele Jesu*<sup>7</sup> ; *par celui qui ens la crois fu mis*<sup>8</sup> ; *par celui qui de vierge nasqui*<sup>9</sup> ; *par ichel seigneur qui de vierge fu nés*<sup>10</sup> ; *par ichel segnor qui pardon fist Longis*<sup>11</sup> ; *par dieu qui fist parler l'imaige*<sup>12</sup> ; *par chelui qui espandi son sanc*<sup>13</sup>, etc.

1. Also : Li Nerb., 55 ; Fabl., I, 252 ; Mir. ND., III, 578 ; ib., XI, 186 ; Rec. de Farces, 20.

2. Ren., IV, 460.

3. II, 1083 ; XXII, 786.

4. Eust. Desch., I, 272, 274 ; R. P. F., III, 226.

5. See also Tolle, pp. 34-35.

6. Doon, 6298.

7. RCambr., 3324, 4383.

8. HBord., 695, 1453, 1707.

9. Aym. Narb., 593.

10. Doon, 6163.

11. RCambr., 4246.

12. RCambr., 3174.

13. HBord., 1201.

c) INDIRECT INVOCATION THROUGH THE MEDIUM  
OF SOME ATTRIBUTE

The oaths of this class comprise a number of the most violent forms of invocation ; their use is largely restricted to frivolous context. Their occurrence is rare outside of the works of the most popular and even vulgar nature such as the *Renart*, the *fabliaux*, the *farces* and *Rabelais*. When they are employed in polite literature it is usually with the evident purpose of indicating that the speaker is of the lower classes or that he speaks in extreme anger <sup>1</sup>. The objects of invocation are, with the exception of *mort dieu*, physical and often of a vulgar nature. The strength of asseveration or adjuration in the case of these oaths consequently is not derived from the solemnity or sanctity of the aspect of God invoked but from the sacrilegious daring of the invocation.

As regards the origin of these oaths, it seems probable that *le corps* was the first attribute to be invoked <sup>2</sup>. The conception of the body of God was continually presented to the people's mind by the Catholic mass. The oath originally invoked the Holy Sacrament in a religious manner. I have noted a few examples of the serious invocation of *le corps*, and have found none for any other attribute.

*Que, par cele corone dont m'avés queroné, Qu'en mon chief m'avés mis trestot estre mon gré, Ne par la foi que doi au cors meisme Dé, Je ne tandrai an France ne chastel ne cité, G Bourg., 248.* — A bishop is speaking to nuns : *Par le corps de nostre seigneur Je say bien que g'y sui tenuz, Mir. ND., II, 632.*

1. See : Guil. d'A., 3242 ; Gayd., 2404 ; Joïnv., 237 ; Chans. du xve s., 15.

2. My examples do not prove this priority of *le corps* over other attributes. In the twelfth century only *le corps*, *le cœur* and *la chair* occur in oaths, and though *le corps* occurs in the earliest example (Guil. d'A., 3242), in texts from the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries *le cœur* is much more frequently employed (see p. 47).

The fact that *corps* plus the name of a person or an appellative is employed to indicate merely the identity of an individual may have made easier the development of the form *corps dieu* in oaths.

The occurrence of invocations of Christ in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the chansons de geste, Courtly Epic and religious literature is very rare. Except for the above quoted examples of *le corps* in serious invocation, they are found only in the utterances of the lower classes. The passage *Dame, par le cors Dé, Ja cez robes ne querons prandre* (Guil. d'A., 3242) is spoken by two merchants whose low character is being contrasted with the noble characters of the poem. The use of *par le cuer beu* by the *vavasour* Gautier (Gayd., 2402, 2404) is in line with such other characteristics as his fighting on foot with an axe and without armour. Similar is the example in the words of Rainouart (Alisc., 7474). Gautier de Coinsy uses different forms of the oath in utterances of some of his lower characters as an indication of their wickedness, compare :

*Foie et pomon, boeles et plaies, Et quenqu'en la bouche li chiet, Jure por ce qu'il li meschiet*, GCoins., 159. — The Devil claims as his own an individual : *Qui les angoisses et les plaies, Qui langue et gueule, ieux et cervele, Rate, poumon, visier, boële, Juroit de Dieu a chaque mot*, ib., 620<sup>1</sup>.

The *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* are not so outspoken in their condemnation of this form of swearing; nor is the class distinction in usage so clearly marked. In addition to the example quoted above (p. 42). I have noted the following occurrences :

The brother of a murdered man is speaking to the murderess upon seeing that the fire does not touch her : *Par le sanc et par la bouelle, Murdriere, ainsi n'en irez pas*, Mir. ND., XXVI, 1110. — *par le corps Dieu (sergant)*, ib., VIII, 248. — Again (servant), XXXV, 1175. — *par les dens Dé* (bailiff), XXVI, 618.

1. Also : 159-160 (gambler); 249 (crowd of bourgeois); 155 (*vilain*); 619 (*ribaus*); 171 (poor woman).



It is in the *Renart* and the fabliaux that the oath invoking an attribute of Christ first shows itself popular. In the *Renart* its occurrence is once in 1300 lines, in the fabliaux once in 1150 lines. In both forms of literature *le cœur* is the object of invocation in about two thirds of all examples. The fabliaux show a liking also for invocations of *le cul*, which occurs in one fourth of all examples from that text ; other attributes occur sporadically such as *la mort*<sup>1</sup>, *les yeux*<sup>2</sup> and *la tête*<sup>3</sup>. Adam de la Halle furnishes two examples of *par le cul dieu* one of *par la mort dieu* and four of *par le sein dieu*<sup>4</sup> ; Joinville shows two examples of oaths by *le chief dieu*<sup>5</sup>. In the popular drama and poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this form of oath is exceedingly frequent (once in 330 lines) : *le sang* (once in 750 lines), *la mort* (once in 1450) and *le corps* (once in 1200) are preferred objects of invocation. *Le cœur*, *le cul*, *les yeux* and *la tête*, which were invoked in the *Renart* and the fabliaux appear no longer in oaths. In Rabelais examples are numerous, especially in utterances of Panurge and Friar John ; *le corps* is much the most frequently invoked attribute.

#### les boyaux :

Never invoked independently with *dieu* expressed. All examples show it associated with one or more other attributes. Gautier de Coinsy (p. 620) lists it among the oaths employed by a criminal and again (pp. 159-160) in a similar list for a gambler.

*Par le sanc et par la boielle, Murdrière, ainsi n'en irez pas*, Mir. ND., XXVI, 1110<sup>6</sup>.

1. Fabl., IV, 51 ; ib., V, 171, 174.

2. Fabl., IV, 161 ; ib., V, 127 ; Ren., X, 1553.

3. Fabl., II, 165 ; ib., IV, 123 ; ib., V, 72.

4. Th. frç. au m. a., 62, 90, 100 ; Rob. et Mar., 116, 584, 595, 716.

5. 237, 242.

6. Also : Ren., XXIII, 1963 ; Fabl., II, 73 ; ib., VI, 3 ; GCoins., 249.

**la cervelle :**

*Il est mors, fait li uns. Non est. Par la cervele deu, si est, Ren., XIV, 609.*

Mentioned by Gautier de Coinsy (p. 620). Notice the combination of oaths in *par la cervele bouele* (Fabl. VI, 5) = *par la cervelle (de dieu) + par la bouelle (de dieu)*.

**la chair :**

The earliest example of the invocation of this attribute is from the *Lai d'Ignaures*<sup>1</sup>. It occurs once in the fabliaux and once in the *Roman de la Rose*<sup>2</sup>. Du Cange<sup>3</sup> mentions several examples from *Litterae Remissae* of the fourteenth century. The oath does not become frequent till the fifteenth century. Its occurrence is approximately once in 3000 lines for the farces. It is also frequent in burlesque poetry, such as the boasting monologue of the *Franc-archier de Cherré*<sup>4</sup>. Only one example is found in Rabelais<sup>5</sup>.

The invocation generally takes the forms *par la chair bieu*, *la chair bieu* or *chair bieu*. The euphemistic form *dienne* occurs once<sup>6</sup>; euphemistic omission of *dieu* occurs once<sup>7</sup>.

This invocation, as all invocations of attributes of Christ, is restricted to frivolous context and is very emphatic.

*Par la chair bieu, ne par saint Pierre, Ce ne fut pas fait de preu-d'homme, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 110. — Par la chair bieu, j'en (ay) faict raige, R. P. F., XIII, 24. — Et par la chair bieu non feray, R. F. M. S-J., I, 21, 9. — La chair bieu, vous aurez des coups, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 128. — La chair bieu, bien prendray l'usance De te flater soir et matin, ib., 177. — Comment, cher bieu, mort bieu, truans, Feis je, qui vous a mys ici, R. P. F., XIII, 37. — etc.*

1. Bartsch und Horning, col. 558 (Zöckler).

2. Fabl., IV, 117; Rose, II, 127.

3. s. v. « Juramentum ».

4. R. P. F., XIII, 18, 44.

5. Rab., II, 175.

6. R. F. M. S-J., III, 13, 20.

7. Rab., II, 175.

**le chief** (rare) :

Joinville <sup>1</sup> places the oath in the mouth of the Count Pierre de Bretagne. In Rabelais <sup>2</sup> and later <sup>3</sup> it is found in such forms as *cap de Gascogne*, *cap de bious* to characterize the speech of people of Gascony and Provence and it was perhaps only in these dialects that the oath was ever in common use.

**le corps** :

Invocations of this attribute are in some ways the most important of this class of oaths. They appear early <sup>4</sup> and they continue in use till the end of the period under examination. They are employed not only in popular literature frivolously but are also found in polite literature in serious function <sup>5</sup>. No occurrences are found in the *Renart*, the fabliaux or the drama of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the drama, especially the farces, furnish a great many examples (for all forms of drama, once in 1200 lines ; for farces, once in 700), Rabelais uses *le corps* in oath much more frequently than any other attribute of Christ. (*Par*) (*le*) *cor(ps) dieu*, without euphemism, is rare <sup>6</sup> for the fifteenth centuries except in Rabelais, where it is the usual form of invocation <sup>7</sup>. In the drama and poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the forms are usually *par le cor(ps) bieu*, *le cor(ps) bieu* and *cor(ps) bieu*.

*Par le corps bieu ! a dire voir, Vous y avez très-bien ouvré*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 104. — *Par le corps bieu, rien n'en sera, Et mentirez*,

1. 237.

2. II, 201, 202.

3. See Zöckler, p. 37.

4. Guil. d'A., 3242 ; Octavian, afz. Bibl. III (1883), 1212, 3075 (Tolle, 28) ; Rose, I, 241, 309.

5. See above, p. 68 ; also : Mich. et Pouj., IV, 556 ; Chans. du xv<sup>e</sup> s., 15 ; R. P. F., VI, 181 ; CMar., I, 25, 33.

6. Chans. du xv<sup>e</sup> s., 15 ; Mich. et Pouj., IV, 556.

7. Rab., I, 105, 147, 156 ; ib., III, 53, 58, 60, 139 ; etc. *Bieu* in I, 125, 269 II, 43, 111.

*puis que j'en jure*, Rec. de Farces, 18. — *Le corps bieu, je ne feray rien*, ib., 9. — *Corbieu, je vous ay trop nourys*, R. F. M. S-J., II, 9, 16. — *Corbieu, si j'avois ung licol, Je croy que je m'en iroyz pendre*, Rec. de Farces, 148. — etc.

Rabelais furnishes unique examples of the euphemistic substitutions *cor beuf*<sup>1</sup> and *corpe de galine*<sup>2</sup> and the dialect form *pe le quau dé*<sup>3</sup>.

### le cœur :

Invocations of *le cœur* are confined to the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Within this period they are especially frequent in the *Renart* (once in 1750 lines) and the *fabliaux* (once in 2000). Occasional examples are found in the *chansons de geste*<sup>4</sup>, *Gautier de Coinsy*<sup>5</sup> and *Aucassin et Nicolette*<sup>6</sup>. My latest example of the oath is in *Villon*<sup>7</sup>.

*Os por le cuer be ! fait cil. Por quoi canterioie je por vos, s'il ne me soit*, Auc., 22, 14. — *Dame, aïe por le cuer*, GCoins., 171. — *Par le cuer be, s'il nos estort, Vos estez tuit perdu et mort*, Ren., I, 1547. — *Par le cuer Dieu, n'i demourra*, Fabl., VI, 43. — *Ja n'i aura confession, Par le cuer Dieu se de moi non*, Fabl., I, 179.

In these invocations the euphemistic forms *bieu* and *be* are usual, the former being preferred in the *fabliaux* (eight out fifteen examples), the latter in the *Renart* (fourteen out of seventeen). The strengthened form *saint cuer* is found once<sup>8</sup>. *Beu*<sup>9</sup> and *bu*<sup>10</sup> also occur. Euphemistic omission of *dieu* occurs in occasional instances<sup>11</sup>.

1. II, 147.

2. II, 147.

3. II, 173.

4. Alisc., 7474 ; Gayd., 2404, 2409.

5. 155, 159-160, 171, 535, 619.

6. 22, 14 ; 24, 40 ; 30, 7.

7. 44.

8. Fabl., I, 20.

9. Gayd., 2404, 2409 ; Fabl., V, 48.

10. Fabl., I, 20.

11. Ren., I, 722, 726 ; GCoins, 171 ; Vill., 44.

The disappearance of the form *cuer dieu* in the fifteenth century may be in a measure due to phonetic confusion with *cor(ps) dieu*, as this latter oath-form begins to be frequent at this time <sup>1</sup>.

**le cul :**

Not found outside of the fabliaux and drama of the thirteenth century. In the fabliaux its occurrence is about once in 5000 lines. The examples generally show *dieu* without euphemism ; *bieu* appears twice <sup>2</sup>. Our examples seem to show a local restriction of the oath to Picardy and the north-east.

*Par le cul Dieu, fet il, c'est droiz*, Fabl., III, 63. — *Dites moi qui vous a meffet, Por le cul Dieu, fet Estormis*, Fabl., I, 290. — *Pour le c.l Dieu ! estes vous ivres ?*, Th. frç. au m. a., 62. — *Par le cul bieu, je vieng de foutre*, Fabl., I, 243 <sup>3</sup>.

**les dents (infrequent) :**

*Mais vous ne m'en eschapperez point, Ne vous, ne vous, par les dens Dé*, Mir. ND., XXVI, 618. — *Les dens Dieu, c'est ung apostat*, R. G. S., II, 189 <sup>4</sup>.

**la sainte face, — figure (rare) :**

Mentioned by Eustache Deschamps <sup>5</sup>. Du Cange <sup>6</sup> quotes the oath *par la sainte figure de Dieu* from Lit. remiss. ann. 1404, ex Reg. 159, ch. 112.

1. Zöckler, p. 29.

2. Fabl., I, 243, 273.

3. Also : Fabl., I, 215, 273 ; ib., IV, 96 ; Th. frç. au m. a., 100.

4. Also : R. G. S., II, 188 ; R. F. M. S.-J., IV, 1, 8.

5. I, 177.

6. S. v. « Juramentum ».



**le foie** (very rare) :

*Voiz, pour le sanc et pour le foie*, Fabl., III, 196.

Mentioned by Gautier de Coinsy <sup>1</sup> among the oaths employed by a gambler.

**la forcelle** (i. e. *poitrine*) (very rare) :

Quoted by Du Cange <sup>2</sup> from Lit. remiss. ann. 1389, in Reg. 135, ch. 286. Also mentioned by Deschamps <sup>3</sup>.

**la froissure** (one example) :

*Por la froissure et por la teste*, Fabl., III, 196.

**la gargate** (one example) :

*Por la gueule, por la gargate, D'un viez soller, d'une çavate Si faites ore si grant feste*, GCoins., 155.

**la gorge** (one example) :

*Par la gorge et par les dens*, R. F. M. S-J., IV, 14, 118.

**la gueule** (very rare) :

*Vois, fait il, pour le gueule Diu, Sui bien honis a ci boin giu*, Fabl., V, 175 <sup>4</sup>.

**la mémoire** (one example) :

*Et dît Renart : par la membrance, Par les plaiez, par la mort beu, Ne sai ou sui*, Ren., XII, 500.

1. 159.

2. S. v. « Juramentum ».

3. I, 274.

4. Also : GCoins, 155, 620.

**la mort :**

Only sporadic occurrences of this oath are found before the fifteenth century.

*s'a le mort beu juree*, Gayd., 4594. — *Par le mort Dieu, je muir de faim*, Th. frç. au m. a., 90. — *Renart, dist Nobles, par la mort, Bien fez tes aïeres sanz nous*, Ren., XVI, 756 <sup>1</sup>.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the oath becomes very frequent. In the drama of these centuries its occurrence is once in 1450 lines ; in the farces specifically, once in 800 lines. It occurs frequently in poetry of a very vulgar nature, especially the monologues of boasters <sup>2</sup>. Rabelais furnishes several examples <sup>3</sup>.

Before the fifteenth century the forms *mort dieu* <sup>4</sup>, without euphemism, *mort beu* <sup>5</sup> and *mort* <sup>6</sup>, with *dieu* omitted, are found. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries *mort bieu* is usual in the three forms of invocation *par la mor(t) bieu*, *la mor(t) bieu* and *mor(t) bieu*. Rabelais uses *mort bæuf* in all but two examples <sup>7</sup>, where *mort bieu* and *mort diene* are found. *Par la mort*, without *dieu*, appears occasionally <sup>8</sup>. Rabelais furnishes examples of the strengthened form *mort beuf de boys* <sup>9</sup>.

**la poitron (i. e. poitrine) (very rare) ; pis (one example) :**

*Par la poitron Dieu sanglant*, quoted by DuCange<sup>10</sup> from *Lit-*

1. Also : Ren., XII, 501 ; Fabl., IV, 51 ; ib., V, 174.

2. R. P. F., X, 241 ; ib., XIII, 23, 28, 35, 37, 43 ; Vill. (Poésies Attrib.), 150.

3. I, 155 ; II, 174, 305, 306, 317, 387, 436, 504 ; III, 138.

4. Th. frç. au m. a., 90 ; Fabl., V, 174.

5. Gayd., 4594 ; Fabl., IV, 51 ; Ren., XII, 501.

6. Ren., XVI, 720, 756.

7. I, 155 ; II, 317.

8. R. F. M. S.-J., II, 4, 8 ; ib., III, 3, 4 ; A. Th. frç. I, 88 ; ib., II, 255.

9. Rab., II, 305-6.

10. S. v. « Juramentum ».

*terae Remissae* of the fourteenth century. *Par le Dieu pis*, Mir. ND., XXXIII, 345<sup>1</sup>.

**la ratte** (one example) :

*Par la ratte dieu*, Rab., I, 75.

**le sambre** (i. e. *figure*) :

Several examples are found in Rabelais<sup>2</sup>; very rare elsewhere<sup>3</sup>. The use of the oath in Rabelais in such forms as *par le (saint) sambregoy*, etc., probably indicates a confusion with oaths by *le sang*<sup>4</sup>.

**le sang** :

Occasional occurrences are found before the fifteenth century.

*Voiz, pour le sanc et pour le foi*, Fabl., III, 196. — *Par le sanc et par la boielle*, Mir. ND., XXVI, 1110.

Deschamps<sup>5</sup> mentions the following oath-forms : *par le sang que Dieux estaura*, *par le sang que Dieux degouta*<sup>6</sup>, *par le sang dont pierre fendi* and (*jurer*) *le sang que Dieux spietta*. In the popular literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries *le sang* is the most frequently invoked attribute of Christ; in the drama (all forms together) its occurrence is approximately once in 750 lines, in the farces specifically, once in 550 lines. No occurrences have been found in polite forms of literature.

1. Also : Mir. ND., XI, 186. See Zöckler, p. 29.

2. II, 89, 93, 179, 323.

3. Zöckler, p. 32.

4. See below.

5. I, 271 ff.

6. See also : Th. frç. av. la Ren., 360.

The forms of invocation are numerous. *Sang dieu*, without euphemism, is infrequent<sup>1</sup>. *Par le sang bieu*, *le sang bieu* and *sang bieu* are the usual forms. Euphemism by omission of *dieu* occurs sporadically<sup>2</sup>; *goy* for *dieu* is rare<sup>3</sup>. Strengthening with the adjective *saint* is comparatively frequent in the form *saint sang bieu*<sup>4</sup>. Oath-confusion appears in *sang bieu de moy*<sup>5</sup>, i. e. *sang bieu plus sang de moi*<sup>6</sup>, and *saint sang que Dieu me fist*<sup>7</sup>, i. e. *saint sang (dieu) plus sang que dieu me fit*. *Sang de les cabres*<sup>8</sup> may be regarded as a euphemistic substitution.

**le sein** (very rare) :

*Par le sain Dieu, ch'est bien amé*, Rob. et Mar., 595<sup>9</sup>.

**la tête** :

Very rare outside of the fabliaux. From the end of the sixteenth century on it is frequent<sup>10</sup>.

*Vois, par la tieste Diu*, Fabl., II, 165. — *Par la teste bieu, vous l'avez*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 108. — *Par la vertus... de la teste*, Rab., II, 341<sup>11</sup>.

**le ventre** :

Very rare before the fifteenth century<sup>12</sup>. During the fifteenth

1. Mich. et Pouj., IV, 600; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 99.

2. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 179; Rab., II, 175.

3. A. Th. frç., I, 347.

4. R. F. M. S.-J., II, 2, 11; ib., II, 4, 25; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 105, 109, 127, 151, 159, 165.

5. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 143.

6. See below, p. 141.

7. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 109, 127.

8. Rab., I, 25.

9. Also : ib., 116, 584.

10. See Zöckler, s. v. *Têtedieu*, etc.

11. Alsol : Fab., III, 196; ib., IV, 123; ib., V, 172; Eust. Desch., I, 274; Rab., II, 343.

12. Fabl., II, 73; Eust. Desch., I, 273.

and sixteenth centuries we find several occurrences of the oath, in most of which the form is *ventre bieu* <sup>1</sup>.

*Ventre dieu!*<sup>2</sup>, *ventreguoy!*<sup>3</sup> and (*par le*) *ventre beuf* (*de boys*)<sup>4</sup> occur in Rabelais. *Ventre de Diou*<sup>5</sup> is uttered by Pathelin in his ravings in the Limousin dialect. *Par le ventre bieu* appears once <sup>6</sup>. Note finally *Ventre sus ventre* <sup>7</sup>.

**les yeux** (rare) :

*Par les eux be... Ore est Ysengrins trop courtois*, Ren. X, 1553. — *Par les eus Diu, fait il, tu ganbles*, Fabl. V, 127 <sup>8</sup>.

1. R. F. M. S.-J., II, 15, 20 ; ib., III, 12, 15 ; R. P. F., VI, 205 ; ib., XIII, 40 ; Vill. (Poés. Attrib.), 151 ; R. G. S., I, 6 ; Rab., II, 464.

2. Rab., I, 105.

3. II, 62.

4. II, 110, 174.

5. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 161.

6. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 360.

7. Rab., II, 407 ; III, 9.

8. Also : Fabl., IV, 161 ; GCoins., 620 ; Eust. Desch., I, 276.

### 3. THE VIRGIN MARY

Oaths invoking the Virgin Mary do not appear in common usage before the middle of the thirteenth century. From that time they continue in usage till the end of the period under examination. Beginning in the second century, worship of the Virgin had developed to its height in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The miracles of the second third of the thirteenth century and later are the first expression in the vernacular of an excessive worship of the Virgin. Invocations of the Virgin in oaths do not occur with frequency before these miracles <sup>1</sup> and their employment in later literature was probably established largely through the influence of this religious literature.

The Virgin's name does not appear in sacrilegious oaths invoking physical attributes except in rare instances in the most profane literature <sup>2</sup>. In this connection we might call attention to the curious miracle of the two gamblers in Gautier de Coinsy (pp. 159-161), one of whom swears continually the most violent oaths by God, but fears to swear by the Virgin, for, as he says :

*Se courroucoie Nostre Dame, Qui me feroit ma pes a Dieu ?*

In the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries we find not infrequently oath-forms in which the name of the Virgin (generally by the appellation *Notre Dame* or *Mère de Dieu*) is qualified by phrases of geographical localization such as

1. Escoufle, 5376 ; Ren., I, 175 ; ib., Ib., 3140 ; ib., XII, 1178 ; RCambr., 1769, 3490, 6141 ; Cor. Lo., 1535 ; Li Nerb., 286 ; Airol, 10861 ; Elie, 1457 ; Fabl., I, 214 ; ib., II, 225.

2. Ren., XII, 1178 ; Fabl., I, 21, 214 ; ib., III, 240 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 100, 110.



de *Boulogne*<sup>1</sup>, de *Montfort*<sup>2</sup>, d'*Orléans*<sup>3</sup>, de *Pontoise*<sup>4</sup> and de *Rivière*<sup>5</sup>. In these cases the invocation does not seem to be directed personally to the Virgin, but indirectly through the medium of some material object, church or statue, bearing her name and patronage.

The invocations of the Virgin are based upon the following appellations : a) *couronnée* ; b) *dame* ; c) *mère de dieu* ; d) *reine* ; e) *sainte Marie* ; and f) *vierge*.

a) **couronnée** (one example) :

*Il ne m'a pour rien gabé, Il en viendra au pied léré, Par la Benoïste couronnée*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 104.

b) **dame** :

BELLE DAME :

Occurring only in Gautier de Coinsy.

*Foi que je doi la bele Dame, Fame si est de tiel effors Que la plus feble est assez fors*, GCoins., 645<sup>6</sup>.

LA DAME (rare) :

*Mais par la dame de Boulongne, Jamais bien aise ne seray*, Mir. ND., VII, 547. — *Et par la Dame que l'en reclame, Tu rendras*, etc., Th. frç. av. la Ren., 104<sup>7</sup>.

MA DAME (rare) :

*Mes cuers si fort s'en esmerveille, Par ma dame Sainte Marie, Vis m'est ce soit enchanterie*, GCoins, 609. — *Sire, par le peril de*

1. Mir. ND., VI, 547 ; ib., VII, 258 ; ib., XI, 144 ; ib., XII, 258 ; Rec. de Farces, 10 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 127.

2. R. F. M. S.-J., II, 15, 14 ; ib., III, 16, 7 ; ib., IV, 1, 30.

3. R. F. M. S.-J., III, 12, 18.

4. Mir. ND., XXVI, 405.

5. Rab., II, 324.

6. Also : GCoins., 554, 608.

7. Also : Mir. ND., XII, 258.

*m'ame, Ne par la foi que doi ma Dame... Il valoit bien .LX. sols, Fabl., II, 117.*

# NOTRE DAME :

Except in religious literature <sup>1</sup>, the Virgin Mary is rarely invoked in oaths by this appellation before the fifteenth century. The miracles of the fourteenth century probably did much to establish the use of the oath. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the oath occurs frequently in popular and polite literature ; in the drama one example to 1575 lines is found ; in the *chansons* and *rondeaux* it stands next to *par dieu* and *sur ma foi* in frequency of occurrence <sup>2</sup>. It occurs only once in Rabelais <sup>3</sup>.

The form of the invocation is generally (*par*) *Notre Dame* or *foi que je dois à Notre Dame*.

*Por ce di-je, par Nostre Dame Que bien est fous, soit hons, soit fame, Qui etc.*, GCoins., 554. — *Et je lor dis, par Nostre Dame, Ke j'avoie trestot donet*, Fabl., III, 114. — *Esse point ung grant mal ? Sy est par Nostre Dame*, Chans. du xv<sup>e</sup> s., 99. — *A, Nostre Dame ! qu'esse là ?*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 332. — *Tu me faitz le sang esmouvoir, Foy que je doy a Nostre Dame*, R. F. M. S-J., II, 15, 7. — *Foi que je dois a Nostre Dame, Je antens la ung autre coquin*, R. G. S., I, 5. — etc.

The following unique forms have been found.

*par la vertu de Nostre Dame*, GCoins, 659. — *por l'amour de Nostre Dame*, ib., 619. — *par le sang Nostre Dame*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 100 and 110. — *par la benoïste Nostre Dame*, R. F. M. S-J., III, 16, 20. — *de par Nostre Dame*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 153.

1. Fabl., I, 99 ; ib., III, 114 ; Ruteb., II, 103 ; GCoins., 554, 602, 619, 659 ; Mir. ND., II, 170 ; ib., XV, 1224 ; ib., XXXII, 621.

2. Rond., XIV, LXIX, LXXVI, LXXXVII, XCVI, CLII ; Chans. du xv<sup>e</sup> s., 99.

3. II, 324.

SAINTE DAME :

Found sporadically in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

*Sainte Dame ! comme il barbote !*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 103 <sup>1</sup>.

c) **mère de dieu** :

Examples of this oath are very rare before the fifteenth century <sup>2</sup>. It is especially frequent in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*, where it takes the forms *par la mère dieu debonnaire* <sup>3</sup>, *par la mère dieu de Boulogne* <sup>4</sup>, and *par la mère dieu de Pontoise* <sup>5</sup>. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries occasional examples are found, in the forms *par la mere dieu precieuse* <sup>6</sup>, *mere de dieu* <sup>7</sup> and *par la mere dieu de Montfort* <sup>8</sup>. In Rabelais the euphemistic oath-forms (*par la*) *merdé* and *merdigués* <sup>9</sup> are common.

*Par le mere Dieu, chou est drois*, Rob. et Mar., 513. — *Mere de Diou ! La Coronade ! Par fyé, je m'en voul anar*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 101. — *Par la mere Dieu de Boulogne, Biaux oncles, ce n'est pas m'entente*, Mir. ND., XI, 144. — *Par la merdé, c'est un lutin*, Rab., I, 133. — *Merdigués ceste cy estoit mienne*, ib., II, 264.

d) **reine** :

The invocation of the Virgin by this appellation is rare.

*Nanil, par la royne honnorée, De son lignage rien ne sçay*, Mir. ND., XXIX, 2395 <sup>10</sup>.

1. Also : ib., 92, 94.

2. See : Rob. et Mar., 513.

3. II, 606 ; IV, 201, 759, 843 ; X, 174 ; XVI, 364.

4. XI, 144 ; XII, 258.

5. XXVI, 405.

6. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 91.

7. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 101 (Pathelin's ravings).

8. R. F. M. S.-J, II, 15, 14.

9. I, 54, 98, 133 ; II, 264 ; IV, 99. See Zöckler, pp. 91-2, for later examples.

10. Tolle cites *por la reine glorieuse* (Ch. lyon, 4506). Example not verified.

e) *sainte Marie* :

Invocations of the Virgin by this appellation occur at all periods. Especially noteworthy is the relative frequency of this form of oath by the Virgin in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the *chansons de geste* and the *Renart* <sup>1</sup>. In the *fabliaux* the oath is fairly frequent (once in 2300 lines). It is a favorite oath of Rutebeuf <sup>2</sup>. It is not found in Gautier de Coinsy nor in the *Miracles de Notre Dame par personnages*, in both of which other forms of invocation of the Virgin are frequent. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it occurs far less frequently than *Notre Dame*. Its usage at this period differs from that of *Notre Dame* in that it is confined to popular literature. No examples appear in Rabelais.

The frequent employment of this oath by Rutebeuf is in harmony with the special reverence of the Virgin which he displays in his utterances. The absence of the oath from the miracles of Gautier de Coinsy and the dramatic miracles of the fourteenth century, and from all polite literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth make it seem that the oath was considered violent or sacrilegious. This attitude probably originated with the miracles of the Virgin, as before their appearance the oath is found in the *chansons de geste* where oaths of a sacrilegious nature as a rule do not occur.

The form of invocation varies much. *Par (por) Sainte Marie, Sainte Marie!* and *(par la) foi que je dois à (le corps de) Sainte Marie*, etc. (not later than the fourteenth century) are the most frequent.

*Hé! dame, por sainte Marie, Fait ele, por coi plorés vos? Escoufle*, 5376. — *La Mocquerie me vendez, par sainte Marie*, Ruteb., I, 96. — *Je vous dy, par sainte Marie, Que je n'en ay pas voulenté*, R. P. F., IX, 150. — *Sainte Marie! tu dis bien*, R. F. M. S-J., III, 16, 17. — *Par la foi que je doi au cors sainte Marie*, Maugis,

1. Aiol, 10861; RCambr., 6141; Li Nerb., 286; Cor. Lo., 1535; Ren., I, 175; ib., Ib., 3140; ib., XII, 1179; etc.

2. I, 31, 96; II, 13, 56, 94.

4517(L.). — *Foi que je doi sainte Marie, Tel amende vous en ferai*, Fabl., III, 286. — *Charlot, ainçois est goute rose, Foi que je doi Sainte Marie*, Ruteb., II, 13. — etc.

Other forms of invocation are :

*par sainte Marie la belle*, Vill., 57 <sup>1</sup>. — *par sainte Marie la gente*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 103. — *el non sainte Marie*, Aiol, 10861. — *par le cors sainte Marie*, Ren., XII, 1178 <sup>2</sup>. — *por le cul sainte Marie*, Fabl., I, 214. — *par la vertu sainte Marie*, Fabl., III, 240.

f) **vierge** :

This appellation is found in oaths relatively frequently in the chansons de geste and in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*. Outside of these texts, occasional occurrences are found in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries <sup>3</sup>. The invocation takes numerous forms through variation of the qualifiers of *vierge* ; some of these forms occur in unique or sporadic cases.

LA VIERGE ABSOLLUE (one example) :

*Seigneur, ce dist Richier, par la verge absollue, Une deffaute au cuer n'est maintenant venue*, HCap., 2275.

LA VIERGE DISTRÉE (one example) :

*par la vierge distree*, HCap., 5604.

LA VIERGE HONORÉE :

*Sire Do., fet li glout, par la vierge henouree, moult a bel homme en vous*, Doon, 4365. — *Ne moy, par la vierge honnoree*, Mr. ND., II, 975 <sup>4</sup>.

1. Also : Th. frç. av. la Ren., 95, 99, 109.

2. Also : Fabl., I, 20.

3. R. G. S., I, 6 ; ib., II, 140 ; R. F. M. S-J., I, 22, 11 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 297, 361 ; A. Th. frç., I, 294, 321 ; ib., II, 415 ; Eust. Desch., IV, 323.

4. Also : Mir. ND., II, 682 ; ib., VI, 93, 1470 ; ib., XVI, 8 ; ib., XVIII, 971 ; ib., XXXIII, 460 ; Doon, 2026, 4365 ; Chans. du xv<sup>e</sup> s., 108 ; R. G. S., I, 6.

LA VIERGE LOUÉE (one example) :

*Frerez, ce dist li rois, par la verge loee, En l'abit ou je sui n'y feray  
ja entree, HCap., 5547.*

LA VIERGE MARIE :

*Amis, par la vierge Marie, La lettre vient a moy tout droit, Mir.  
ND., I, 1084. — Non fas, par la vierge Marie, ib., XXX, 791 <sup>1</sup>.*

LA VIERGE nostrée (one example) :

*Sire, dist ly hermit a la barbe merlee, Vous estez bien venus par  
la vierge nostree, HCap., 5542.*

LA VIERGE PUCELLE :

*Por ce le fas, par la virgene pucele, Qe l'amendise en soit et gente  
et bele, RCambr., 1769. — Pour la douce vierge pucelle, Ou puet  
estre ma mere alee,<sup>2</sup> Mir. ND., VI, 265 <sup>2</sup>.*

LA DOUCE VIERGE PUISSANTE (one example) :

*Par la douce vierge puissant, Se Dieu plaist, vous avez voir dit,  
Mir. ND., I, 640.*

1. Also : Mir. ND., I, 822 ; ib., II, 434 ; ib., XXII, 272 ; ib., XXXI, 2219 ;  
Eust. Desch., IV, 323 ; R. G. S., II, 140.

2. Also : RCambr., 3490 ; Elie, 1457 ; Mir. ND., I, 1512 ; ib., VI, 761,  
1185 ; ib., IX, 941 ; ib., XXIX, 2253.

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#### 4. ANGELS

Invocations of the angels by the appellation *ange*<sup>1</sup> are very rare. My only examples are :

*Par le benoist ange, Je n'y voy encore aparence, Qu'il y ait riens en pascience*, R. G. S., I, 220. — *por Dieu et por ses angles*, Aiol, 9095.

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#### 5. HOLY HUMAN BEINGS

##### a) SAINTS

##### 1. AS A CLASS OR IN GROUPS.

I include under this heading all forms of invocation addressed to *les saints*. The word *saints* may signify either the saints personally or the material relics of the saints and other holy personages. Following my classification, oaths of the second class should be considered in chapter 7, « Holy Material Objects », but on account of the complete confusion in the oaths of the two ideas, the saints and the relics, it has been found necessary to treat the two forms of oath together. The confusion existed evidently in the minds of the Old French themselves. The invocation of the relics of a saint was at

1. For oaths invoking St. Pierre, St. Michel, etc., see below in chapter « Saints Individually », pp. 90, 93, etc.

the same time an invocation of the saint himself, as is evident from the following passage from a capitulary of Charlemagne of the year 803 : *Omne sacramentum in Ecclesia juretur... Sic illum Deus adjuvet et sancti quorum istae reliquiae sunt, ut veritatem dicat* <sup>1</sup>. The following couplet from Raoul de Cambrai (II, 4956-7), *Par tous les sains que vos ici veez Et par les autres dont Diex est aourez*, seems to contain an oath by relics in the first line and one by saints in the second. While treating the two oaths together, I have called attention wherever it seemed possible to recognize either relics or saints as the object of invocation in any particular form <sup>2</sup>.

Invocations of *les saints* are found very rarely after the fourteenth century <sup>3</sup>. Their occurrence is largely confined to the chansons de geste, the fabliaux and the *Renart*. The number of examples in these three literary genres is about the same, viz. approximately one in 1500 lines. A few examples have been found that recall the frequent employment of this form of oath as a legal attestation, compare : the duel oath in the miracle of *Amis et Amiles* <sup>4</sup>, the oaths of Renart and Ysengrin before their duel <sup>5</sup>, the oath of Hersent denying the charge of adultery <sup>6</sup> and the oath of a *chanoine* accused of murder in a miracle of the Virgin <sup>7</sup>.

#### **tous (les) saints :**

Found frequently in the fabliaux of the first half of the thirteenth century, but very rarely elsewhere <sup>8</sup>.

1. Baluzius, Capit. Reg. Franc., I, 398.

2. For official oaths by the relics and saints, see : Baluzius, I, 154, 398 ; Leber, Coll. de pièces rel. à l'hist. de France, VI, 477-9 ; DuCange, s. v. « Juramentum ». See also : Villeh., 60 ; GCoins., 364.

3. Mich. et Pouj., I, Bertr. du Guescl., ch. xxxii ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 106 ; Rec. de Farces, 42.

4. Mir. ND., XXIII, 1046.

5. Ren., VI, 1092 ; XIII, 2159.

6. Ren., I, 147.

7. Mir. ND., III, 260.

8. Eust. Desch., VII, 166 (Zöckler) ; Mich. et Pouj., I, Bertr. du Guescl., ch. xxxii.

*Par tous les sains, fait chieix, celi*, Fabl., II, 164. — *Tant avons dormi, par toz sainz, Que por fos nos poons tenir*, ib., III, 279 <sup>1</sup>.

The following example is evidently an invocation of the saints.

*Par toz sains et par toutes saintes, Filz, j'ai oi merveilles maintes*, Fabl., IV, 89.

#### les saints de dieu :

This is by far the most frequent formula for the invocation of *les saints* during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

*Por les sains deu, que voi ge la ?* Ren., II, 918. — *Do, par tous les sains de Dieu ! je cuît que vous desvès*, Doon, 6411 <sup>2</sup>.

#### les saints dessous ciel :

Sporadically employed in the chansons de geste.

*Et je voz jur, par les sains desouz ciel, Que voz serez anlui conseillier*, Jourd., Bl., 101 <sup>3</sup>.

#### les saints de la messe (one example) :

*Mais, par tous les saintz de la messe, Je reulx que me tenez promesse*, Rec. de Farces, 42.

#### les saints du monde :

Found only in the *Renart*.

*Par les seinz de trestout le mont, C'est li gourpils*, Ren., II, 240 <sup>4</sup>.

1. Also : Fabl., II, 162 ; V, 236.

2. Also : Ren., II, 394, 1303 ; ib., IX, 561 ; Doon, 6295 ; Aym. Narb., 2580 ; Elie, 1234 ; Fabl., III, 179, 239, 245 ; etc.

3. Also : Aiol, 4584, 7315.

4. Also : XIV, 964.

**les saints de paradis** (one example) :

*Par tous les saincts de paradis, Pour ung il en trouvera dix*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 106.

**les saints de sainte église** (one example) :

*Par toz les sainz de seinte yglise*, Fabl., IV, 77.

**les saints, — que je vois ici, — de céans, etc. :**

Occurrences are found only in Joinville and the *Renart*.

*Par les seins que je voi ici, Rocnel a del tot menti*, Ren., XIII, 2159. — *Car par les sains de ceans, je ne vauroie avoir un tel pechié*, Joinv., 673 <sup>1</sup>.

**les saints qu'on adore** (prie, etc.) :

Occasional examples of this form occur during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

*Par trestoz les seinz que l'en prie Vos ressenblez le chen qui crie*, Ren., II, 181. — *Sire, par tous les saints qu'en prie en chu moustier Je nel prendroie*, GNant., 798 <sup>2</sup>.

**les saints que Dieu a bénis :**

Two examples from the chansons de geste are known to me.

*Ou, par les sains que dieus a beneis, Mains grans estors en estora forniz*, Aub(a)., 135 <sup>3</sup>.

1. Also : Ren., VI, 1092.

2. Also : Ren., I, 147 ; Fabl., I, 250.

3. Alisc., 2649.

**les saints que Dieu fit :**

Found only in the chansons de geste.

*Seignor, dist ele, por les sains que Dix fist, Si voz samblez d'aler et de venir... Que je ne sai li quex est mes maris*, Am. u. Am., 1958 <sup>1</sup>.

The two following unique examples invoke the saints.

*Mais par les sains qui Jhesu ont proié, Se je tant vif Qu'ae l'elme lacié, Ne te lairai*, RCambr., 3621. — *Par toz les sains... Et par les autres dont Diex est aourez*, etc., ib., 4956.

In addition to the above invocations of *les saints*, we find frequently in the chansons de geste, the fabliaux and the *Renart* forms which distinguish the geographical location of *les saints*. These invocations take the forms *par (pour) les saints de —*, *par (pour) les saints qui sont à —*, *par (pour) les saints qu'on cherche à —*, and *par (pour) les saints qu'on prie à —*. The second and third of these forms evidently invoke relics ; the object of invocation in the first and fourth is doubtful. *Les saints* of Rome <sup>2</sup> is much the most frequently invoked group of *les saints*. Other groups found in oaths are those of *Bavière* <sup>3</sup>, *Bethléem* <sup>4</sup>, *Bretagne* <sup>5</sup>, *France* <sup>6</sup>, *Galice* <sup>7</sup>, *Gison* <sup>8</sup>, *Liège* <sup>9</sup>, *l'Orient* <sup>10</sup>, *Orléans* <sup>11</sup>, *Pavie* <sup>12</sup> and *Ponthieu* <sup>13</sup>.

1. Also : *Elie*, 1240 ; *Aiol*, 6097 ; Am. u. Am., 2394.

2. RCharr., 2494 ; Ren., VII, 285 ; ib., X, 338 ; ib., XIII, 2031 ; ib., XVII, 1572 ; ib., XXIII, 725 ; BSebourg., I, 182 (L.) ; Fabl., II, 91 ; ib., III, 236 ; ib., V, 72 ; Mir. ND., III, 260.

3. RCambr., 1325.

4. Octavian, 520 (L.) ; Ren., Va, 930 ; ib., XXIII, 201.

5. Li Nerb., 216 ; Prise de Cordres, 662 ; Maugis, 5156, 7265 (L.) ; Ren. de Montauban, 345, 429 (L.) ; Aub.(a), 225 ; Aub.(b), 55.

6. Fabl., II, 53.

7. Ren., XVII, 1431.

8. Fabl., II, 11.

9. Ren., XIII, 2001.

10. ACarth., 7013 ; Ren. de Montauban, 425 (L.).

11. Fabl., V, 152.

12. RCambr., 1891.

13. RCambr., 996.

The invocation of relics or of the saints in groups by any other appellation than *les saints* is rare. Compare, however :

*par chez saintez reliques*, GNant., 914. — *Par seint Martir*, Ren., XIII., 2134.

*Teste-Dieu plene de reliques* (Rab., II, 343) represents a meaningless confusion of oaths by *la tête de dieu* and by relics. The indirect invocation of an individual saint through the medium of some special relic is not infrequent.

*par la grand Bottine, par le hourseau de Saint Benoist*, Rab., III, 176. — *Par la boudine saint Fiacre*, GCoins., 159. — *jurerez sor la dent saint Roenau*, Ren., Va, 1126<sup>1</sup>.

## 2. INDIVIDUALLY.

The forms for the invocation of the saints individually vary largely for the different texts and for the different periods of the language that have been covered in this study.

During the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in all but a few exceptional cases, invocations of individual saints take one of the three forms (a) *par (pour) saint* —, (b) *(par la) ( celle) foi que je (tu, vous) dois (dois, devez) à (le corps de) saint* — and (c) *par (pour) le corps de saint* —. In the *chansons de geste* (c) is the most frequent form, showing one occurrence to every 500 lines, (a) is next with one to 1000 lines, while (b) occurs only once in 2500 lines ; in the *Renart* (a) is the most frequent with one occurrence to every 400 lines, (b) shows one to 850 lines and (c) occurs sporadically<sup>2</sup>; in the *fabliaux* (a) again is the most popular form with one occurrence to 390 lines, (b) shows one to 1000 lines and (c) is rare<sup>3</sup>. The same order of frequency exists for the *Miracles*

1. For additional examples see below, pp. 67-68.

2. I, 537 ; III, 317 ; XVI, 636.

3. II, 8. 12.



*de Nostre Dame par personnages* as for the fabliaux and the *Renart*, viz., (a) once in 1000 lines, (b) once in 4000 and (c) very rare <sup>1</sup>. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries *par saint* — and the interjectional form *saint* — ! are the ordinary forms of invocation, each occurring approximately once in 900 lines. Later than the fourteenth century *par (pour) le corps de saint* — does not occur and *par la foi que je dois à saint*, etc., is sporadic <sup>2</sup>.

There are a number of other formulas of invocation of much less frequent occurrence than the three above mentioned: *par monsieur (monseigneur) saint* —, occurring mostly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries <sup>3</sup>; (*par la*) *vertu de saint* —, found only in the fifteenth and sixteenth <sup>4</sup>; *ventre de saint* — ! found only in the fifteenth and sixteenth <sup>5</sup>; (*par le*) *sang de saint* —, fifteenth and sixteenth only <sup>6</sup>; *de par saint* —, showing two sporadic occurrences <sup>7</sup>; *en le (au) nom de saint* —, with three sporadic cases <sup>8</sup>; and *le baron saint* —, found in two oaths in the fabliaux <sup>9</sup>. Other forms of invocation occur in unique examples; the following have been noted <sup>10</sup>.

*Cap de saint Arnaud*, Rab., II, 202. — *par la grand Bottine, par le housseau de saint Benoist*, ib., III, 176. — *par le fardeau de saint Christofle*, ib., II, 174. — *a l'honneur monseignor saint Fiacre*,

1. XXIII, 850; XXVI, 1312.

2. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 14; R. P. F., I, 222; ib., III, 119; Rond., LXXXVIII.

3. Ren., XIV, 870; Mir. ND., II, 971; R. P. F., I, 312; ib., II, 113; R. F. M., S-J., II, 4, 45; ib., I, 7, 12; ib., IV, 5, 25; etc.

4. Rec. de Farces, 6, 7; R. F. M. S-J., II, 4, 43; ib., II, 5, 18; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 149, 193, 279; A. Th. frç., I, 124; etc.

5. Rab., I, 21, 104, 272, 340; R. F. M. S-J., I, 24, 16; ib., II, 11, 21; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 92; etc.

6. Mich. et Pouj., IV, 519; CMar., I, 27; Rab., II, 301; Rec. de Farces, 74 (Zöckler).

7. Fabl., I, 76; Mir. ND., III, 470.

8. Fabl., I, 176; R. F. M. S-J., II, 13, 8; Mich. et Pouj., IV, 566.

9. I, 102; V, 233.

10. Zöckler (pp. 112-3) classifies a number of these examples under the heading *Reliquien, kirchliche gegenstände*, etc. See also above, p. 66.

R. G. S., I, 7. — *Je vous jure l'espine saint Fiacre en Brye*, Rab., II, 218. — *Por la boudine saint Fiacre*, GCoins., 159. — *por les plaies saint Germain*, Fabl., IV, 123. — *par la dive oye Guenet*, Rab., II, 46. — *par le saint baron de Galice*, Mir. ND., VII, 128. — *por les costez saint Martin*, Fabl., III, 242. — *par la rocle saint Morant*, Fabl., I, 21. — *par la main destre a Saint Pol*, Li Nerb., 274. — *jurerez sor la dent saint Roenau*, Ren., Va, 1126.

The oaths invoking individual saints have been very popular at all periods. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries their occurrence was especially frequent. In the chansons de geste the different forms occur once to every 290 lines, the saints most frequently invoked being St. Denis, St. Pierre, St. Paul, St. Jacques, St. Remi and St. Riquier ; in the *Renart*, once to 260 lines, with St. Germain, St. Léonard (generally rhyming with *Renart*), St. Pierre, St. Gille, St. Riquier, St. Georges and St. Denis showing the most frequent occurrence ; in the fabliaux, once in 275 lines, St. Pierre, St. Martin, St. Germain, St. Simon, St. Gille, St. Denis and St. Omer in the greatest number of examples ; in the *Miracles de Notre Dame par personnages*, once 750 lines, St. Gille, St. Pierre, St. Remi and St. Nicholas being most frequently invoked ; in the drama of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, once to 450 lines, St. Jean, St. Jacques, St. Pierre, St. Georges, St. Gille and St. Martin being the most popular saints.

The influence that rhyme had upon the choice of individual saints as the objects of invocation was evidently very great during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the chansons de geste, the *Renart*, the fabliaux and the miracles of Notre Dame, to judge from the almost invariable occurrence of oaths by individual saints at the end of the line with the saint's name in rhyme position, one is lead to believe that the choice of the saint is almost entirely determined by the rhyme. The rare occurrence of the name of the saint outside of rhyme position is especially noticeable in the fabliaux. Zöckler (p. 17) remarks that out of 135 exam-

ples in the fabliaux only two show the saint's name not in rhyme position. In the chansons de geste we find only a few well-known saints whose names are found outside of rhyme : St. Denis, St. Jacques, St. Pierre and St. Paul are the most frequent to be so used. Furthermore, for examples where the name of the saint stands in rhyme, we observe unexpectedly little distinction of popularity between the different saints. It has been remarked that the occurrence of the names of saints in rhyme position is more frequent in rhymed than in assonanced poems. It would seem that these oaths were used as an easy means of furnishing rhymes. Naturally this need was not as great in assonanced poems, where there is more liberty in the choice of the final syllable. For example, *Orson de Beauvais*, in assonance, though showing a tendency to rhyme, gives only one example of the oath by a saint in rhyme position for the first 1000 lines while *Aymeri de Narbonne*, in rhyme, gives eight cases. Neither shows examples of the oath out of rhyme position. Again, *La Mort Aymeri de Narbonne* gives no examples, *Raoul de Cambrai*, six ; *La Prise de Cordres et de Séville*, none, *Li Narbonnois*, six. Undoubtedly, however the choice of the saints is in a measure affected by other influences, such as the desire of the author or jongleur to display his religious knowledge or the local reputation of the different saints. The utilization of oaths by saints for purposes of rhyme seems to cease in the fifteenth century.

The invocation of individual saints by means of formulas which do not specify the saint is largely confined to the chansons de geste. The majority of these formulas are based upon the appellation *apôtre*. *Par l'apôtre que cherchent les pèlerins (pénéants)* is the commonest of these oaths. It is confined entirely to the chansons de geste, where its occurrence is approximately once to every 2500 lines. It is probable that St. Jacques of Santiago is invoked, as his shrine was the most favored object of pilgrimage in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. *Par l'apôtre qu'on cherche en l'arche*, is also probably

an invocation of St. Jacques. Its occurrence is restricted to the chansons de geste, but it is not so common as the preceding formula <sup>1</sup>. All other forms for the invocation of unspecified saints occur in unique examples <sup>2</sup>. I will quote the following cases.

*Par icel apostle pour cui Dex fait vertu*, Aiol, 8575. — *Et par l'apostre cui Dex donna bon gré*, Am. u. Am., 2302. — *Par saint apostre*, Fabl., I, 100. — *Foi que devez le seint Martir*, Ren., Ib, 2438.

LIST OF SAINT'S NAMES EMPLOYED IN OATHS IN  
THE MATERIAL EXAMINED

**St. Acaire (rare) :**

Invoked in two oaths from the *Jus Adam*. St. Acaire was bishop of Noyon in the seventh century, and these two examples probably indicate his local reputation in the north-east.

*Frere, ains arai mengié avant, Par la foi que doi saint Acaire*, Th. frç. au m. a., 85 <sup>3</sup>.

**St. Adauras (one example) :**

*Non dy ie, par saint Adauras, car tu seras mil foys pendu*, Rab., I, 305.

A fictitious saint's name, formed on *aura*, as is evident from the context <sup>4</sup>.

1. See : Orange, 1058 ; Aiol, 9060 ; Elie, 55.

2. See, however, p. 94.

3. Also : ib., 66.

4. See : Rab., IV, 204.

**Ste Afflise** (one example) :

*Saint Amadour et sainte Afflise s'en vin jurant au lit Gillain,* Fabl., II, 65.

**St. Almon** (one example) :

*Anel ? fait il, par seint Almon, Cestui n'est mie filz moton,* Fabl., II, 181.

**Ste. Agnès** (very rare) :

*par la foi que doi sainte Agnes,* Ren., XIV, 1046 and XVI, 610.

**Ste. Agathe** (very rare) :

*Por sainte Agatte, Vas y doncques ainsi qu'on doit,* Th. frç., av. la Ren., 15. — *par le corps sainte Agace,* Mir. ND., XXVI, 1312.

**St. Alain** (one example) :

*par saint Alain,* Fabl., III, 210.

**Ste. Alix de Hanstone** (one example) :

*je n'en prendroie .x. livres de monoie, Par saint Aliste de Hanstone,* Fabl., II, 64.

**St. Alose** (one example) :

*J'aüsse bien de toi afaire, Fait li vilains, par saint Alose, Ne fust sans plus por une chose,* Fabl., V, 26.

**St. Amadour** (very rare) :

*Saint Amadour et saint Afflise S'en vin jurant,* Fabl., II, 65. — *Et par monsieur saint Amadour,* R. F. M. S-J., IV, 5, 25.

**St. Amand :**

Scattered occurrences of this invocation are found at all periods.

*Drois enpereres, par le cors saint Amant, Servi vos ai par mes armes portant*, RCambr., 681. — *Li clers li dist : Par saint Amant, Vos m'alez a grant tort blasmant*, Fabl., IV, 211. — *Je vous jure par saint Amant, Que j'ay plus menty que dys vray*, R. P. F., XI, 362<sup>1</sup>.

**St. André (one example) :**

*Aucunes foiz, par saint Andrier, Ai-je veu plus blan cendrier*, GCoins., 571.

**St. Antoine (one example) :**

*Ventre saint Antoine*, Rab., I, 272.

**St. Arnaud (one example) :**

A Gascon speaks : *Cap de saint Arnault, quau seys tu, qui me rebeillez*, Rab., II, 202.

**St. Aubert (one example) :**

*Mais n'en aveis, par saint Obert*, Fabl., III, 116.

**St. Aubin (very rare) :**

*Par saint Aubin*, Aub(a)., 124<sup>2</sup>.

**St. Audemer (one example) :**

*par saint Audemer, Ne mi ore plus enbatre*, GCoins., 682.

1. Also : Berte, 2533 (L.) ; Ren. de Mont., 36, 42, 424 (L.) ; Aub(a)., 46, 81 ; Fabl., I, 201, 216, etc.

2. Also : ib., 201.



**Ste. Avie** (one example) :

*Ne me recognoissez vous mie Par sainte Avoie ?*, Mir. ND., XXVII, 512.

**Ste. Bauthauch** (one example) :

*Foy que doy sainte Bauthauch*, Mir. ND., XXIX, 1148.

**St. Benoît** (one example) :

*Marier, par la grand Bottine, Par le housseau de saint Benoist, Tout homme qui bien me congnoist, Iurera, que feray le choys*, Rab., III, 176.

**St. Blaise** (one example) :

*Elle dist : Par saint Blaise, Mielz valt la sosclaise Ne-facent li cleis*, Th. frç. au m. a., 48.

This example from a pastoral of the thirteenth century recalls the position of St. Blaise as patron of wool-combers.

**St. Bon, — Bonnet** (rare) :

*Je m'y en voys par saint Bon*. A. Th. frç., A, 191 <sup>1</sup>.

**St. Brice** (one example) :

*foi que doi saint Briccon*, Gir. de Rous. (Mignard), 52 (L.).

**Ste. Catherine** (sporadic) :

*Autrement vous feray parler, Fcy que doy sainte Katherine*, Mir ND., XI, 353. — *Sire, par sainte Katherine, Tres voutentiers*, ib., XXXIV, 2476 <sup>2</sup>.

1. Also : ib., I, 93.

2. Also : Ren. de Mont., 346 (L.) ; Aub(b), 116 ; RSebourg., I, 75, 118, 379 (L.) ; ib., II, 160 (L.) ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 16, 127.

**St. Charlot** (i. e. *Charlemagne* ?) (one example)

*Non feray je par saint Charlot*, A. Th. fr., 1, 186.

**St. Christophe** (rare) :

*Suscier le doit, par saint Cristofle*, GCoins., 666. — *par le fardeau de saint Cristofle*, Rab., II, 174.

The invocation of the burden of St. Christophe is a reference to the legend which relates that this saint always bore Christ with him ; hence the name *Christo-phorus*.

**St. Clair** (one example) :

*Nenil, par saint Clairon* (in rhyme position), BBouillon, 2724 (L.).

**Ste. Claire** (one example) :

*Par le cors sainte Claire*, Chvr. au Cigne, (Hippeau), I, 58 (L.).

**St. Claude** (one example) :

*Par saint Claude, Taisez-vous et vous verrez rage*, Th. fr., av. la Ren., 212.

**St. Clément** :

Invocations of this saint are found in occasional examples from the thirteenth century and from chansons de geste of the fourteenth.

*Ne volom mie, par le cors saint Climent, Que nostre pere se vant devant sa gent*, Li Nerb., 875. — *Mar le pensas, par saint Climent*, Fabl., V, 96<sup>1</sup>.

1. Also : Aym. Narb., 760 ; Berte, 257, 2033 ; Am. u. Am., 2830 ; HCap., 563, 3276 ; Bueves de Comm., 556, 3101 (L.) ; Enf. Ogier, 1275 (L.) ; Maugis, 7743 (L.) ; Fabl., I, 101.

**St. Côme** (very rare) :

*Foy que je doy A saint Damien et saint Cosme, Je ne trouvoy  
aujourd'huy homme Qui me donast un seul nicquet*, Th. frç. av.  
la Ren., 14 <sup>1</sup>.

**St. Copin** (very rare) :

*Mon chier seigneur, par saint Copin, Vous soiez li tresbien venuz*,  
Mir. ND., XV, 946 <sup>2</sup>.

**St. Coquilbaut** (very rare) :

*Si estoit, par saint Couillebault*, R. G. S., II, 187. — *Et je suis  
mon, saint Couillebaut !*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 341.

**St. Cornille** (one example) :

*Non sui, fet il, par saint Cornille*, Fabl., I, 80.

**St. Crespin** (one example) :

*Par saint Crespin, vous en mourés*, R. F. M. S-J., II, 7, 13.

**St. Cyrille** (occasional) :

*Vous en aurez a grant foison... par saint Cire*, Fabl., I, 98. — *Par  
saint Sire, je ne veuil nulz*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 212 <sup>3</sup>.

**St. Damien** (one example) :

*Foy que je doy a saint Damien, etc.*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 14

1. Also : R. G. S., II, 260.

2. Also : Th. frç. av. la Ren., 341.

3. Also : Ren. de Mont., 335, 369, 382, 398, 439, etc. (L.) ; Fabl., I, 176 ;  
ib., V, 149 ; Mir. ND., III, 382 ; ib., XVIII, 717 ; ib., XXVII, 1729.

**St. Daniel** (sporadic in the chansons de geste) :

*Ali. jure le cors saint Daniel*, RCambr., 4660 <sup>1</sup>.

**St. David** (very rare) :

*Par saint David, je ne sai pas*, Ren., XVI, 868 <sup>2</sup>.

**St. Denis, — Denise :**

Both forms of the name occur parallel to one another, the former being approximately three times as frequent as the latter. Invocations of this saint are especially common in the chansons de geste <sup>3</sup> and the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* <sup>4</sup>. The invocation is very rare after the fourteenth century <sup>5</sup>. In the chansons de geste St. Denis is the most frequently invoked saint. This is due to his position as patron of the French, and specifically of the royal family. In a number of examples the phrase *de France* qualifies the name of the saint <sup>6</sup>. The royal family show a preference for the oath in such forms as *par saint Denis qui est mes avoez* <sup>7</sup> and *par saint Denis cui hom je sui dou chief* <sup>8</sup>. The frequency with which Gui de Bourgogne uses the oath results apparently from his claim to the throne in accordance with Charlemagne's promise <sup>9</sup>.

*Par saint Denis, equerre voil, De quel pie, fet il, vos clochez*, Ren., V, 172. — *Par saint Denis, jeraï leur comparer*, Alisc., 7385. —

1. Gayd., 135 ; BSebourg., I, 82, 165 (L.) ; Chvr. au Cigne, I, 233 (L.).

2. Also : Aub(a)., 145.

3. Alisc., 1959, 3363, 4837, 7386 ; GBourg., 38, 667, 1730 ; HBord., 1016 ; Nymes, 741 ; Gayd., 679 ; Cor. Lo., 547 ; Gar. Loh., I, 268 ; RCambr., 2846 ; etc.

4. XIII, 378 ; XIV, 96 ; XXXVI, 18.

5. Mich. et Pouj., IV, 566.

6. Aub(a)., 198 ; Par. Duch., 2573 , Ren., XIII, 134 ; etc.

7. MAym., 2327.

8. Gayd., 679.

9. GBourg., 38, 667, 1730.

*Foi que doi saint Denis, Ainc mais ne vi si faites gens.* Fabl., V, 177.  
— etc. <sup>1</sup>.

**St. Didier**, — **Desiier** ; (very rare) :

*Par saint Didier, Tres voulentiers*, Mir. ND., XXXIV, 1714 <sup>2</sup>.

**St. Donat** (one example) :

*Oil, par saint Donasse*, Chvr. au Cigne (Hippeau), II, 54 (L.).

**St. Eloi** :

Examples are very rare <sup>3</sup> outside of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries ; they are particularly common in the chansons de geste and in religious literature.

*Qui plus a cuer par saint Eloy*, GCoins., 121. — *Par saint Eloy, je la vueil lire*, Mir. ND., VI, 1189 <sup>4</sup>.

**St. Etienne** (one example) :

*Par la foi que doi a saint Estieve, Mieux voil morir*, Orenge, 1418.

**St. Eustache** (sporadic) :

*Par la foy que doy saint Huytasse, Vous n'estes pas crestienez*, Mir. ND., I, 680 <sup>5</sup>.

**St. Facond** (sporadic in the chansons de geste) :

*Par le cors saint Fagon, Puis k'il vous plaist, nous le vous otroion*, ACarth., 11179 <sup>6</sup>.

1. See Langlois.

2. Also : Li Nerb. App. II, 19.

3. R. P. F., II, 125.

4. Also : Ren., XVII, 550 ; Gayd., 5249, 6059 ; Aub(a), 27 ; Mir. ND., XXXII, 1555 ; etc. See Langlois.

5. Also : Fabl., II, 8, 12 ; R. P. F., I, 222.

6. See Langlois.

**St. Faradin** (one example) :

*par saint Faradin, Il ne bevra jamez, Doon, 9668.*

**St. Félix** (rare) :

*Foi que doi le corps saint Felise, N'auroid si bel moine en l'eglise, Ren., III, 317 <sup>1</sup>.*

**St. Ferréol** (one example) :

*Mais par saint Ferreol d'Abbeville, les ieunes bachelettes de nos pays sont mille foyz plus advenentes, Rab., II, 308.*

**St. Fiacre** :

Occurs sporadically in oaths of exceptional form.

*Por la boudine saint Fiacre, GCoins., 159. — Par la foy que je doy saint Fiacre, Mir. ND., III, 644. — A l'onneur monseignor saint Fiacre, Faites moy quelque cherité, R. G. S., I, 7. — Je vous iure l'espine saint Fiacre en Brye, Rab., II, 218.*

**St. Firmin** (sporadic) :

*Une cançon tote novele D'amorettes qui molt est bele Et bien fete, par saint Fermin, Ren., XI, 169. — Que, foi que doi saint Fremin d'Aminois, Je remendrai ici en Nerbonois, Aym. Narb., 612 <sup>2</sup>.*

**St. Flore** (one example) :

*Par saint Otrise et par saint Floire, Fait li chevaliers, je n'ai cure, Fabl., II, 85.*

**St. Florent** (very rare) :

*Par saint Florent de Roie, c'es! drois, HCap., 1939 <sup>3</sup>.*

1. RCambr., 8713; ACarth., 251; Fabl., II, 181; see also Langlois.

2. Also : HCap., 1252 a; ACarth., 5261; RCambr., 1605; Li Nerb., 2282; etc., see also Langlois.

3. A. Carth., 5003.



**St. François** (one example) :

*foi que doi saint Francoys*, BSebourg., II., 394 (L.)

**St. Fursy** (one example) :

*Non feisses, par saint Forsi*, Fabl., I, 106.

**St. Gabriel** (one example) :

*Par saint Gabriel*, HCap., 37.

**Ste. Garie, — Warie, — Guérie** (rare) :

Speaking of the Comte de Poitiers, brother of St. Louis : *Li plus grant de ses sairements Si estoit : Par sainte Garie*, Ruteb., I, 59. — *par le foie sainte Warie*, GCoins, 156. — *Par la gorge ne par la teste Ne par le cuer sainte Warie... Par les costez, par les mameles...*, *sainte Warie*, ib., 156. — *par sainte Guérie*, Mir. ND., XXVIII, 1960.

**Ste. Gemme** (one example) :

*Autel vous di, par sainte Gemme, Des haus Miracles Nostre Dame*, GCoins., 543.

**St. Gengoul** (one example) :

*Foi que doi saint Gengou*, Gir. de Rous. (Mignard), 36 (L.).

**St. Georges** :

This saint was a favorite object of invocation from the end of the fourteenth century through the sixteenth century. Occurrences of his name are very rare in the chansons de geste <sup>1</sup>; only one case in the *Renart* <sup>2</sup> and thrée in the fa-

1. Gir. de Rous. (Mignard), 148, 221 (L.).

2. IX, 604.

bliaux<sup>1</sup>. It is relatively frequent in the *Miracles de Notre Dame par personnages*<sup>2</sup> and the drama of the fifteenth century<sup>3</sup>. In addition to the more common forms of saint-invocation, we have noted the forms *par monsieur saint Georges*<sup>4</sup>, *par le sang saint Georges*<sup>5</sup> and *Vertu saint Georges*!<sup>6</sup>

*Dame, foi que je doi saint Jorge... cis vins me fait la bouche amere*, Fabl., III, 147. — *Par saint George, le jour venra, Que de ceci me souvendra*, Mir., ND., XXXII, 768. — *Ca ! vien t'en boire Et par saint George je beura a ty*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 103.

### St. Germain :

Scattered occurrences of the invocation of his name are found from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. Examples from the fabliaux are especially numerous (one to every 4000 lines). The saint is usually invoked in the simple formula *par (pour) saint Germain*; *pour les plaies saint Germain*<sup>7</sup> has also been found.

*Si dist : Est-ce le sougretain ? Nenil, dame, par saint Germain*, Fabl., V, 234. — *Si aras tu, par saint Germain*, Mir. ND., XXV, 1124. — etc.

### Ste. Gertrude (one example) :

*Par sainte Gietrus de Nivelles, Jure Messire qu'il le veut*, Fabl., II, 70.

### St. Gervais (confined to the chansons de geste) :

*Ot tost, ce a dit Naimés, par le cors saint Gervais*, Ren. de Mont., 336 (L.)<sup>8</sup>.

1. I, 248 ; II, 19 ; III, 147.

2. XII, 1307 ; XV, 364 ; XVII, 1001 ; XIX, 696 ; XXXII, 768, 1523.

3. R. F. M. S-J., I, 7, 11 ; ib., II, 4, 43 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 103 ; A. Th. frç., II, 423 ; Rec. de Farces, 7 ; CMar., I, 27 ; etc.

4. R. F. M. S-J., I, 7, 11.

5. CMar., I, 27 ; Mich. et Pouj., IV, 519.

6. Rec. de Farces, 7 ; R. F. M. S-J., II, 4, 43 ; ib., II, 5, 18 ; etc.

7. Fabl., IV, 123 ; also see Langlois.

8. Also : BSebourg., II, 192, 401 (L.) ; Gayd., 4420, 8029 ; etc.

**St. Géry (rare) :**

Not found later than the thirteenth century. Especially common in the poem *Raoul de Cambrai* <sup>1</sup>.

*Demain au jor sor vos fois vos envi Dedens ma tor, par le cors saint Geri*, RCambr., 866 <sup>2</sup>.

**St. Gignon (one example) :**

*Par saint Gignon, tu ne mens*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 103.

**St. Gille :**

Common at nearly all periods. Occurrences are very rare in the chansons de geste <sup>3</sup>, but are frequent in the *Renart* (one to 3000 lines) the fabliaux (one to 6000) and the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* (one to 6000). Gautier de Coinsy makes noticeably frequent use of the oath, especially in his own utterances at the opening and close of his narrative <sup>4</sup>. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries its employment is occasional <sup>5</sup>.

The saint is rarely invoked except in the regular formulas *par (pour) saint Gille*, *par (pour) le corps de saint Gille*, and *par la foi que je dois à saint Gille*, etc. ; the exceptional oath-forms *par monsieur saint Gille* <sup>6</sup> and *au nom de saint Gille* <sup>7</sup> are sporadic in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

*Par saint Gille, fait il, por tout ce, N'irai ge mais devant demain*, Escoufle, 7086. — *Se il vous pernent, par saint Gille, Il vous liver-*

1. See Bédier, « Légendes Epiques », vol. II, p. 375 ff.

2. Also : see Langlois.

3. Aye, 1356 ; HBord., 9202.

4. 255, 271, 491, 603, 625, 662.

5. R. G. S., II, 337, 363 ; R. F. M. S.-J., II, 13, 8 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 93 ; Vill. (Poés. Attrib.), 207 ; R. P. F., III, 199.

6. R. G. S., II, 363 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 93.

7. R. F. M. S.-J., II, 13, 8.

*ront a essil*, Ren., XI, 56. — *Egar ! avis m'est par le corps saint Gille que venir le voy*, Mir. ND., XXIII, 850. — *Par saint Gille, Monde, vous êtes difficile Par trop*, R. G. S., II, 337 : — etc.

**St. Goderan** (one example) :

*Par saint Goderan, (dist le moyne), Telle n'est mon exposition*, Rab., I, 210.

**St. Gomer** (one example) :

*foy que doit saint Gumier*, Doon, 7109.

**St. Griboult** (one example) :

*Par saint Griboult, Le bon Griboult, c'est bien juré*, Rec. de Farces, 122.

**St. Grégoire** (very rare) :

*Ha ! fet Jehans, por saint Grigore, Va savoir s'il i est encore*, Fabl., I, 207<sup>1</sup>.

**St. Gris**<sup>2</sup> :

Probably a fictitious saint. The name does not appear in oaths before the end of the fifteenth century. It occurs very rarely<sup>3</sup> in the simple formulas for saint-invocation. The ordinary oath-form is *ventre saint Gris !* ; (*par la*) *vertu saint Gris*<sup>4</sup> and *sang saint Gris* !<sup>5</sup> occur occasionally.

*La plume, saint Gris ! ouy*, R. F. M. S-J., III, 15, 8. — *Ventre saint-gris, Y m'est advis que ie les voy*, ib., I, 22, 16. — *Ventre*

1. Enf. Viv., 1556 (L.) ; Fabl., I, 108.

2. See above, p. 38. See also Zöckler, p. 90, who derives *St. Gris* from *St. Christ*.

3. A. Th. frç., II, 86 ; R. F. M. S-J., III, 15, 8.

4. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 279 ; A. Th. frç., I, 357.

5. Rab., II, 301.

*Sainct Gris que tu es aise, Compaignon d'amours, CMar., I, 36. — Souvent je t'y regrette, Hé !, par la vertu saint Gris, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 279*<sup>1</sup>.

**St. Guillemer** (one example) :

*A cheu ne baés ja, que, par saint Guillemer, Je serai tout premier as ruistes cous paier, Doon, 8225.*

**Ste. Hélène** (very rare) :

*Et qu'est ceci ? por sainte Elaine ? Fabl., III, 83*<sup>2</sup>.

**St. Herbert** (one example) :

*Preudom, jet il, Dieus vous herbert, Quar, foi que doi a saint Herbert, Lais hom ceenz nuit ne gerra, Fabl., III, 229.*

**St. Hilaire** (confined to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) :

*Par cele foi que je doi saint Ylaire, Se Dex se done que je vis en repaire, etc., RCambr., 1023. — En sa chambre a plus de lumiere, Qu'en son moustier, par saint Hylaire, GCoins., 571*<sup>3</sup>.

**St. Honorat** (confined to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) :

*Mes, par la foi que doi saint Ennocré, Qui que s'en aut, sachiez, je remendré, Aym. Narb., 240. — Cist siècles, par saint Honnoré, Ne dureront une seule heure, GCoins., 488. — de par saint Honoré, HBord., 1693*<sup>4</sup>.

1. Also : R. F. M. S-J., II, 11, 21 ; A. Th. frç., I, 198, 335.

2. Also : Mir. ND., XXXII, 2189.

3. Also : Gayd. 7957 ; ACarth., 1788 ; Fier., 2306 ; Ogier, 11404 (L.) ; Ren. de Mont., 396, 407 (L.) ; Maugis, 4867 (L.) ; etc.

4. Also : GBourg., 1730 ; Par. Duch., 2955 ; Li Nerb., 90 ; Mir. ND., XXXVI, 1666.

**St. Jacques, — Jame :**

This saint is invoked with relative frequency in the chansons de geste (approximately once in 4000 lines), the *Renart* (once to 4000) and the fabliaux (once to 7000). In religious literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the invocation is very rare<sup>1</sup>. In the fifteenth and sixteenth it becomes very common, especially in popular literature (once to 3000 lines in the farces).

In addition to the examples of the regular forms of saint-invocation, I have found the following oath-forms : *par saint Jacques que quierent pelerin*<sup>2</sup>, *par saint Jacques de Galice*<sup>3</sup>, *par le saint baron de Galice*<sup>4</sup> and *ventre saint Jacques*<sup>5</sup>. In the chansons de geste the saint is frequently invoked by formulas which do not specify the saint but give a circumlocution for his name<sup>6</sup>.

*Car, par saint Jake a qui je doi proier, S'un seul petit vos voi plus aprocier, Tel vos donrai sor cel elme vergier*, Alisc., 1583. — *Fait se il : Bele, par saint Jame... .xx. sols de bons deniers me done*, Fabl., I, 312. — *Non, par saint Jacque de Galisce*, Fabl., III, 59. — *Par saint Jacques, je te voy bien, Tu es toy et moy riens quelzconques*, R. G. S., I, 166. — *Saint Jacques! voire*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 57. — etc.

**St. Jean :**

Oaths invoking St. Jean are infrequent before the fifteenth century<sup>7</sup>. From the middle of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century invocations of this saint far exceed in number those of any other saint. Their occurrence in the

1. Mir. ND., VII, 128.

2. Gar. Loh., I, 243.

3. Fabl., III, 59.

4. Mir. ND., VII, 128.

5. Rab., I, 104.

6. See above, pp. 69-70.

7. Th. frç. au m. am, 184 ; RCharr., 6069 ; Macaire, 1107 (L.) ; Ren., IX, 269 ; Fabl., IV, 157, 210 ; Mir. ND., III, 370.



farces is in the proportion of one in 450 lines, which shows the oath to be one of the most commonly used forms of invocation. Outside of the farces and Rabelais, however, examples are rare <sup>1</sup>.

*Par saint Jean* and *Saint Jean* ! are the usual forms of invocation ; *Jean* !, with *saint* omitted, is not infrequent <sup>2</sup>.

*Est-che voirs ? que Diex te sekeure. Est voirs, oïl, par saint Jehan*, Th. frç. au m. a., 184. — *Dans clers, dist ele, par saint Jehan, James de moi ne partirez*, Fabl., IV, 210. — *Car, par saint Jehan, jè les mangeoye*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 105. — *Par saint Jehan, vous pouvez penser Que n'ay pas peur de mes escus*, ib., 211. — *Que je ne sçay qu'il en sera. Jehan, ne moy*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 441. — *Jehan, ce n'est pas là raison*, A. Th. frç., I, 183.

**St. Josse** (very rare) :

*Que tu es grosse. Non sui, dame, par saint Josce*, Mir. ND., VI, 522 <sup>3</sup>.

**St. Jude** (one example) :

*Par saint Symon et par saint Jude, Vilain si fol sont et si rude Que bestial sunt comme bestes*, GCoins, 625.

**St. Julien** (rare) :

*Foi que je doi saint Julien, Que je ne vous face contraire*, Ren., XVI, 348. — *Je get, de par saint Julien*, Fabl., V, 76 <sup>4</sup>.

**St. Lambert** (rare) :

*Et si me bouteray dedans, Par la foy que doy saint Lember*, Mir. ND., XXXI, 1719 <sup>5</sup>.

1. R. P. F., XI, 350.

2. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 193 ; A. Th. frç., I, 34, 41, 183 ; ib., II, 81, 82, 84, etc. ; see Zöckler, p. 105.

3. Also : ib., II, 971.

4. Also : Alise., 3857 ; Fabl., II, 66.

5. Also : Prise de Cordres, 1512.

**St. Landri** (very rare) :

*Il jure Deu et le corz saint Landri, Mort Gar., 82 (L.)* <sup>1</sup>.

**St. Laurent** (sporadic) :

*a ci dedenz Vingt sols ou plus, par seint Loranz, Fabl., II, 19* <sup>2</sup>.

**St. Léger** (confined to the chansons de geste) :

*Par le cors saint Liger, N'auroie mal, Ogier, 5569 (L.). — Sire, ce dist Richars, foi que doi saint Legier, Ains n'ot millor prison sergent ne chevalier, Ren. de Mont., 401 (L.)* <sup>3</sup>.

**St. Léonard** :

The invocation of this saint is especially frequent in the *Renart* (once to 2000 lines). Occasional examples occur in the chansons de geste <sup>4</sup> and the fabliaux <sup>5</sup>, but elsewhere the oath is very rare <sup>6</sup>. The frequency of the oath in the *Renart* is explicable from the fact that in almost all examples the name of the saint stands in rhyme with *Renart* <sup>7</sup>.

*Molt volenters, ce dist Renart, Par mon seignor saint Lienart, Ren., XIV, 870. — Oil, sire, par saint Leonard, Fabl., II, 244. — Vous dites vray, par saint Lienard, Rec. de Farces, 100. — etc.*

**St. Leu** (rare) :

*Que nus n'en puet aler ariere, Foi que doi au baron saint Leu, Fabl., I, 102* <sup>8</sup>.

1. Also : Gar. Loh., I, 207.

2. BSebourg., I, 228 (L.) ; Beuve de Hamt., 3405 (L.) ; etc.

3. Gayd., 3022, 7434 ; Doon, 3281 ; Gauf., 5273 ; etc. See also Langlois.

4. Floov., 1104 ; BSebourg., II, 228 (L.).

5. II, 208, 244 ; V, 236.

6. Rec. de Farces, 100.

7. I, 259 ; XIV, 870 ; XVII, 1584 ; etc.

8. Also : Ren., XVI, 778 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 104.

**St. Lifard** (one example) :

*par saint Liefart de Meun*, Rose, II, 80.

**St. Lo** (one example) :

*Qu'est-ce, por le baron saint Lot ?*, Fabl., V, 233.

**St. Lubin** (one example) :

*Si en arez, par saint Lubin*, Mir. ND., XXXVI, 687.

**St. Lucas** (one example) :

*Mais li dus Godefrois en jure saint Tomas, Li quens Robers de Flandre, mon seignor saint Lucas*, Jerusalem, 82 (L.).

**Ste. Lucie** (one example) :

*Sire, fet il, par sainte Luce, cel vilain a la rouge aumuce*, Ren., XVI, 1297.

**St. Lucien** (one example) :

*Par saint Lucien de Beauvès, Il est pereceus et mauvés*, GCoins., 571.

**St. Magloire** :

Examples of this invocation are found only in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*; here it is frequent.

*Vous ferez pis, par saint Magloire, Que n'avez fait*, Mir. ND., XI, 507. — *A il point de pain en ton sac Pour aler boire ? Nanil, amis, par saint Magloire*, ib., XXXVI, 26. — *Qu'est-ce, Pieron, pour saint Magloire ?*, ib., XXXIII, 518<sup>1</sup>.

**St. Mangon** (one example) :

*par saint Mangon qu'est a Glacon*, Fergus, 24, 2 (Tolle).

1. Also : III, 376 ; XVII, 638 ; XXIX, 1178, 1390.

**St. Marc** (very rare) :

*foi que tu dois saint Marc ! Taisiés-vous-ent*, Th. frç. au m. a., 182. — *Quant li maistres l'oï, si jura par saint Mar Miex lor venroit tous estre par dela la mar.*, Ren. de Mont., 450 (L.).

**St. Marcel** :

Found rarely outside of the chansons de geste <sup>1</sup>.

*Allez-vous en, que par le corps saint Marcel, se plus t'attendez, Vo peliçon ert remendrez*, Ren., XVI, 636 <sup>2</sup>.

**Ste Marthe** (one example) :

*par sainte Marthe, G'y vois*, Mir. ND., XXXVI, 150.

**St. Martial** (very rare) :

*dame, par saint Martel, Se croire me volîs... Je vous apprendroie a jouer*, BSebourg., I, 82 (L.) <sup>3</sup>.

**St. Martin** :

In the fabliaux this is one of the most frequently invoked saints (once to 4000 lines). Invocations of his name are also frequent in the chansons de geste <sup>4</sup> and in popular literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries <sup>5</sup>, but are infrequent elsewhere <sup>6</sup>. The exceptional form *por les costez saint Martin* is found once in the fabliaux <sup>7</sup>.

*foi que doi saint Martin, Ja Nerbonnais ne m'auront a voisin*, Aym. Narb., 388. — *Si fera il, par saint Martyn*, Fabl., II, 195. —

1. Ren., XI, 3024 ; ib., XVI, 636 ; Fabl., IV, 145.

2. Also : Gayd., 4497, 5194 ; HCap., 144, 940 ; Gauf., 4488 ; etc. See Langlois.

3. Also : GNant., 1415.

4. See Langlois.

5. Rond., LXXXVIII ; R. P. F., I, 222 ; ib., II, 113, 189 ; R. F. M. S.-J., IV, 11, 1 ; A. Th. frç., I, 296.

6. GCoins., 241 ; Mir. ND., VII, 681.

7. Fabl., III, 243.

*foi que je dois saint Martin, Tart m'est que je lieve, ib., I, 249. — En mesnage fault maint eserin, Potz de terre, par saint Martin, Ratelier et eschelle, R. P. F., I, 222.*

**St. Mathurin** (one example) :

*Je doy boire, et si mangeray De l'oe, par saint Mathelin, Chez maistre Pierre Pathelin, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 96.*

**St. Matthieu** (very rare) :

*Je souhaite, par monsieur saint Mathieu, Bribes, lopins, tousjours pour ma demande, R. P. F., I, 312 <sup>1</sup>.*

**Ste Maude** (one example) :

*Que bien vous di par sainte Maude Je n'en sai pas la verité, Ren., XIII, 1679.*

**St. Maur** (sporadic) :

*Par saint Mor il m'est plus du chaut Qui cy me fait mourir de soif, Mir. ND., II, 779. — Saint Mort ! c'est dure passion, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 341. — Comment est-ce que l'en t'appelle ? Par saint Maur ! Thibault l'Aiglelet, ib., 105 <sup>2</sup>.*

**St. Maurice** :

Examples are sporadic, coming from the chansons de geste principally.

*Par saint Morise qu'on quiert en Aminois, Ge te semoing, tu venras avec moi, Orange, 321. — Bienveignant sire, par saint Maurice, dinerez avec moy, Mich. et Pouj., I, Bertr. du Guescl., ch. XXXII <sup>3</sup>.*

1. Also : Rec. de Farces, 110 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 158.

2. Also : Mir. ND., XXXIII, 334 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 361.

3. See Langlois.

**St. Mauront** (one example) :

*par la roele saint Morant*, Fabl., I, 21.

**St. Médard** (very rare) :

*par saint Maart*, *En feu d'enfer n'iert cil ja ars*, GCoins., 190<sup>1</sup>.

**St. Merri** (one example) :

*Icy, par saint Marry*, R. P. F., IV, 323

**St. Michel** (very rare) :

*Qui bien la sert, par saint Michiel, Sagement set faire son preu*, GCoins., 415. — *par l'ange saint Michiel*, HBord., 89<sup>2</sup>.

**St. Nicaise** :

Invocations of this saint are common in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personages*<sup>3</sup>, but are rare elsewhere<sup>4</sup>.

*Nanil, dame, par saint Nicaise*, Mir. ND., II, 243. — *par saint Niquaise, avec moi disnera tout aise*, Fabl., III, 141.

**St. Nicholas**, — **Nicole**<sup>5</sup> ? :

Invocations of this saint do not appear with special frequency at any one period or in any one form of literature. Occasional occurrences are found at all times. The saint was very fervently revered for his patronage of children, but no indications of this worship have been noticed in the oaths invoking his name<sup>6</sup>. An example of exceptional form of invo-

1. Li Nerb., 2631 ; Maugis, 7382 (L.).

2. Cov., Viv., 1643 ; Fabl., II, 255.

3. II, 243 ; XV, 214 ; XVIII, 750 ; XXXI, 2431.

4. Fabl., III, 141 ; A. Th. frç., I, 7.

5. Guil. d'A., 2192.

6. Notice, however : *par saint Nycolas, Bien m'en garderay* (i. e. from owing her son too much), Mir. ND., I, 648.



cation is found in *par la teste saint Nicolas*, quoted by Du Cange <sup>1</sup>.

*Dist Renart : par saint Nicolas, Ne te mesconsilleraï pas*, Ren., XI, 829. — *Quant Aimeris commencha a jurer saint Nicholai, ke l'on doit aourer*, Alisc., 3185. — *Ge cuit bien, par saint Nicolas, Que tu aies faim de forment*, Fabl., I, 1. — *Par saint Nicholas ! ci ne demourront-il pas*, Joinv., 256. — *O'est mal fait, par saint Nicolas*, Mir. ND., VI, 311. — *Sainct Nicholay ! Voicy assez pour enrager*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 15. — etc.

#### St. Omer :

Found rarely <sup>2</sup> outside of the thirteenth century and chansons de geste of the fourteenth century.

*Que bien sachiez, par saint Omer, Que je ne puis avant aler*, Ren., XI, 71. — *Et dist : Dame, par saint Omer, Or sui je toz enfin garis*, Fabl., IV, 60 <sup>3</sup>.

#### St. Otrise (one example) :

*Par saint Otrise et par saint Floire, Fait li chevaliers, je n'ai cure*, Fabl., II, 85.

#### St. Pantaleon (one example) :

*Je sui bon mestre de plaidier, Foi que doi saint Pampalion*, Ren., IX, 484.

#### St. Paul :

The invocation of St. Paul is especially common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and in chansons de geste of the fourteenth century. Later its occurrence is sporadic <sup>4</sup>.

1. S. v. « Juramentum ». From « Lit. remiss. ann. 1380 ».

2. R. P. F., I, 222.

3. GCoins., 376 ; Fabl., IV, 121 ; etc. See Langlois.

4. Mir. ND., XXXIII, 1475 ; R. P. F., V, 248 ; Rec. de Farces, 6 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 193 ; A. Th. frç., I, 58 ; ib., II, 252, 421.

He is the most frequently invoked saint in the fabliaux (once in 3000 lines). The oath is used commonly in the chansons de geste (once in 3000 lines) and furnishes several examples in religious literature of the thirteenth century <sup>1</sup>.

In addition to the regular forms of invocation, I have found *vertu saint Paul* <sup>2</sup> and *par la main destre a saint Paul* <sup>3</sup>. Very frequently in invocations of St. Paul, we find the name of the saint qualified by a phrase specifying some particular saint of the name, so : *l'apôtre* <sup>4</sup>, *le martir* <sup>5</sup>, *d'Avalon* <sup>6</sup>, *d'(Es) Polis* <sup>7</sup>, *de Ravenne* <sup>8</sup>, *de Tudelle* <sup>9</sup> and *de Valcois* <sup>10</sup>.

*La pel tantost en osteras. Volentiers, fait il, par saint Pol, Ren., XI, 658. — Dame, dist il, par saint Pol de Tudelle, A moult petit m'est de vostre favelle, Gayd., 8951. — Car la letre dit : par saint Pol, Que la science de cest mont Musardie est la sus amont, GCoins., 603. — Dame, foi que je doi saint Pol, Fait li prestes, vos dites bien, Fabl., III, 181. — Tant y a qu'il me semble fol, C'est grant damage, par saint Pol, Mir. ND., XXXIII, 1475. — Et, si larron suis jamais, par saint Pol, je veulx que soys estranglé par mon col, R. P. F., V, 248. — etc.*

**Ste. Pécinne** (one example) :

*jurent sainte Pechine, ACarth., 7416.*

**Ste. Penotte** (very rare) :

*Bien venu, par sainte Penotte, CMar., I, 38* <sup>11</sup>.

1. GCoins., 241, 603, 624 ; Ruteb., II, 109.
2. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 193 ; A. Th. frç., I, 124 ; Rec. de Farces, 6
3. Li Nerb., 274.
4. Ruteb., II, 109.
5. RCambr., 4889.
6. Gayd., 2056, 5343, etc.
7. Aub(a)., 133 ; Aub(b)., 43.
8. Aiol, 7254, 7389 ; etc.
9. Gayd., 8951.
10. MAym., 1331.
11. Also : Th. frç. av. la Ren., 313.

**St. Philibert** (very rare) :

*par saint Philebert, Qui mal li fera ne se doute... qu'il ne li couste,*  
Mir. ND., XXXIII, 1722 <sup>1</sup>.

**St. Picault** (one example) :

*Par saint Picault, (respondit Panurge), nous ne ferons rien  
qui vaille,* Rab., II, 144.

**St. Pierre, — Père :**

There seems to have been a confusion of the ideas *Saint Père* and *Saint Pierre* throughout the Old French period, due to similitarity of the two names and to approximation of the two identities, the Holy Father and St. Peter <sup>2</sup>. We are unable to decide which of the two is the object of invocation.

The use of invocations of Saint Pierre (Père) is quite common. In the *Renart* the frequency of their occurrence is only exceeded by that of St. Léonard and St. Germain. In the *chansons de geste* St. Pierre (Père) stands next to St. Denis in number of occurrences in oath. The *fabliaux* show less liking for the oath (once in 6000 lines). In the *Courtly Epic* <sup>3</sup> and in religious literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries <sup>4</sup> examples are relatively frequent. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the oath is found only in the drama (once in 5000 lines).

In addition to the regular forms of invocation, *par la vertu saint Pierre* <sup>5</sup> and *ventre saint Pierre* <sup>6</sup> are found. It is very common for a qualifying phrase to accompany the saint's

1. Also : Rose, I, 309.

2. The use of *Saint Père (Pierre)*, without the article, referring to the Pope is found outside of oath-forms : Mir. ND., XIII, 384.

3. RCharr., 1776, 3468 ; Guil. d'A., 1719 ; Escoufle, 4482, 4954.

4. G.Coins, 414, 609 ; Ruteb., I, 155 ; Mir. ND., XIV, 223 ; ib., XIX, 692, 694 ; ib., XXIII, 504 ; ib., XXXIII, 601, 682, 2180 ; ib., XXXVI, 212.

5. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 49.

6. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 92.

name, *de Rome* <sup>1</sup> and *l'apôtre* <sup>2</sup> being the most frequent forms. It is possible that these two qualifiers served to distinguish invocations of the Pope and St. Peter respectively. The oath-form *par cet apôtre qu'on cherche en Noiron-Pré (Pré-Noiron)* is evidently directed to Saint Pierre (Père) <sup>3</sup>. It occurs repeatedly in the chansons de geste <sup>4</sup>, but never elsewhere.

*Par cel saint Pierre que Dieus a Rome mist*, Rol., 456 a. — *prestes me huimais L'ostel, por saint Piere l'apostre*, Escoufle, 4954. — *Ja par la foi que doi saint Pere Ne vous crerrai de cest afeire*, RCharr., 3468. — *Ainz jure foi qu'il doit Saint Pere Qu'il engignera son compere*, Ren., XI, 83. — *Mais par saint Piere, qui je doi aorer, Ne ferai porte ne guichet desfermer*, Alisc., 1655. — *Orendroit ! fet l'evesque, frere, Plus de quinzaine a, par saint Pere*, GCoins., 609. — *Sire, fait Robins, par saint Pere, Ja mar de cou serés douteus*, Fabl., IV, 85. — *g'iray, par saint Pere, Bien tost après*, Mir. ND., XIX 692. — *Ou, par icel apostre c'on quiert en Noiron pré, Je t'irai ja ferir*, Fier., 453. — *Par cel apostre c'on quiert en pré Noiron, N'en partiroye por la cit d'Avalon*, RCambr., 3964.

#### St. Prix (sporadic) :

*Biaus sire Ogiers, dist Ferraus, Par saint Pri, Or, en irez touz cuites sans estri*, Gayd., 7720. — *Tot droit a Miaus l'enmena, par saint Prin*, Ogier, 10524 (L.).

St. Prix, by the name *Prist*, is invoked several times in the nineteenth of the pieces of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* in utterances of the judge Etienne <sup>5</sup>.

1. Ren., IX, 1978 ; Elie, 97 ; Fabl., V, 177 ; Ruteb., I, 155 ; Mir. ND., VIII, 1049 ; ib., XXXIII, 682, 2180.

2. RCharr., 1776 ; Escoufle, 4954 ; Ren., IX, 1212 ; Fabl., III, 246 ; ib., V, 57, 153 ; Mir. ND., XXXI, 280 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 90, 212.

3. Compare : *Par cel saint Pierre que Dieus a Rome mist*, Rol., 456 a. — *Dieus, qui le cors saint Pere mis en Pré-Noiron*, Orange, 810. — *Dex... Meis saint Pierre au chief de Pré-Noiron*, Am. u. Am., 1177.

4. Floov., 123 ; Fier., 453 ; RCambr., 3964 ; Am. u. Am., 750, 876 ; Alisc., 1942 ; etc.

5. 28, 246, 321.

**St. Quenet** (very rare) :

*Ventre saint Quenet*, Rab., I, 20, 340<sup>1</sup>.

**St. Raynaud** (one example) :

*Par la foi que doi saint Renaut, Vos dites voir*, Ren., XIV, 359.

**St. Remi** :

Occasional examples are met at all periods ; the oath is especially frequent, however, in the thirteenth century and in chansons de geste of the fourteenth<sup>2</sup>.

*Sire, par saint Remy, Nous avons moult perdu puis que vous venez cy*, HCap., 1868. — *Par saint Remi, molt vos doit ennuiier*, Aym. Narb., 3431. — *Que l'en doit bien, par saint Remi, Prendre .i. biau don de son ami*, Fabl., III, 39. — *Sire, il me plaist, par saint Remy*, Mir. ND., XV, 758. — *Non, par saint Remy*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 168<sup>3</sup>.

**St. Rigomé** (very rare) :

*Par saint Rigomé, (dist frere Ian), Panurge, mon ami doux, ie ne te conseille chose que ie ne fuisse*, Rab., II, 133<sup>4</sup>.

**St. Riquier** :

Occurrences of the invocation of this saint are confined to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They are particularly frequent in the poem of *Raoul de Cambrai*<sup>5</sup>. We find that the

1. Also, possibly, *par la dive Oye guenet*, Rab., II, 46. See *Œuvres de Rabelais*, Ledentu, Paris, 1835.

2. See Langlois.

3. Jourd. Bl., 834 ; Li Nerb., 3048 ; Aub(a)., 3, 54, 67, 200 ; Aub(b)., 108 ; GCoins., 601 ; Fabl., I, 19 ; Mir. ND., II, 430 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 15 ; etc.

4. Also : ib., ib., 405.

5. 1081, 1359, 1937, 2018, 2550, 3788 ; always in the form *par (pour) le corps saint Riquier*. See Bédier, « Légendes Epiques », vol. 2, p. 377 ff.

worship of St. Riquier is most pronounced in the territory surrounding the abbey of St. Riquier near Abbeville.

*Sos ciel n'a cort, per seint Richier, Que je n'osasse afichier*, Ren., Va, 809. — *Dites vos voir ? Et cil li dist : Ge vos di voir, par saint Richier*, Fabl., III, 278. — *Vous dites voir, par saint Richier*, Mir. ND., XXIII, 520 <sup>1</sup>.

**St. Romacle** (sporadic in the thirteenth) :

Most of the examples are from Gautier de Coinsy <sup>2</sup>.

*De tiex coinnois, par saint Romacle, Quant conter veut un miracle... les nes en vont fronchant*, GCoins., 662 <sup>3</sup>.

**St. Rufin** (one example) :

*par saint Ruffin, La guerre ne fust pas a fin*, Mir. ND., XXIII, 508.

**St. Samson** (rare) :

*Aussi esse, par saint Sanson*, A. Th. frç., II, 173 <sup>4</sup>.

**St. Séverin** (sporadic) :

*Voz ferai ge dolant, par saint Sevrin*, Gayd., 3610 <sup>5</sup>.

**St. Sicaud** (very rare) :

*Aucun connois par saint Sicaud, A cui de Dieu moult petit chaut*, etc., GCoins., 570 <sup>6</sup>.

**St. Silvestre** (very rare) :

*Par la foi que doi saint Selvestre, Molt a en vos bon archeprestre*, Ren., XI, 2069 <sup>7</sup>.

1. See Langlois.

2. 553, 611, 662 ; always in rhyme with *miracle*.

3. Also : Ren., XXII, 661.

4. Also : Aub(a.), 234 ; Ren. de Mont., 10 (L.).

5. Chvr. au Cigne (Hippeau), II, 144 (L.) ; Aub(a.), 82, 120, 124.

6. Also : Mainet, III, 27 (L.).

7. Also : Chvr. au Cigne (Hippeau), I, 251 (L.).



**St. Siméon** (one example) :

*en jure le corps saint Symeon*, GNant. 864.

**St. Simon** (sporadic) :

*Sire, foi que doi saint Simon, Vos en avés molt bien parlé*, Ren., XI, 2694. — *Jo ferai ja irié, par saint Simon*, Li Nerb., 971. — *Chevalier, par saint Simon, N'ai cure de compaignon*, Th. frç. a. m. a., 44. — *Je n'gray pas, par saint Simon*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 377<sup>1</sup>.

**St. Siobé** (one example) :

A Gascon : *Ho saint Siobé, cap de Guascoigne*, Rab., II, 202.

**Ste. Sophie** (one example) :

*quer, par sainte Sophie, Vous serés ja u feu assez plus que rostie*, Doon, 902.

**St. Sulpice** (very rare) :

*Par saint Souplisse de Pierrefonz*, GCoins, 517, 718.

**St. Thibaut** (sporadic) :

*Dist Feraus : Sire, par le cors saint Thiebaut, Je voz otroi que me pendez*, Gayd., 5725. — *Par monsieur saint Tibault l'apostre, Contre vous deulx auray debat*, R. F. M. S-J., II, 4, 45<sup>2</sup>.

**St. Thomas** (occasional in the thirteenth century) :

*Aveine ? Sire, dit Belin, Par saint Tomas le bon martir, J'en voudroie mon ventre enplir*, Ren., XIII, 1822. — *Mais, par le cors au baron saint Thomas ! Mar i entrerent li larron de Baudas*, Alisc., 4220. — *Non sont, sire, par saint Thomas*, Fabl., III, 63<sup>3</sup>.

1. Also : Gayd., 395, 1630, 2295 ; Aiol, 2100 ; Ren., XI, 1272 ; Fabl., II, 17 ; R. F. M. S-J., II, 13, 14. See also Langlois.

2. Also : Maugis, 7275 (L) ; Mir. ND., XIV, 164 ; ib., XVIII, 184 ; Rab., II, 311.

3. See Langlois. Also : Fabl., II, 179.

**Ste. Tiècle** (one example) :

*Moult volentiers, par sainte Tiecle, Se vergoingne n'avoit du siecle,*  
GCoins, 570.

**St. Treignan** (also, *Eugnan*<sup>1</sup>) (very rare) :

*Par saint Treignan (dist Gymnaste) ce proces doibt estre soub-*  
*vent sus ce bureau, Rab., II, 300*<sup>2</sup>.

**St. Valère** (one example) :

*Et je vous jure saint Valier, Fabl., II, 67.*

**St. Valéry** (one example) :

*Hé, saint Valery, qu'esse-cy ?, A. Th. frç., I, 317.*

**St. Vincent** (confined to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) :

*Et dist la dame : Drois est, par saint Vincent, RCambr., 7509. —*  
*Par mon ordre de saint Vincent, Fabl., V, 119. — foi que doi al vrai*  
*corps saint Vincent, HBord., 1208*<sup>3</sup>.

**St. Vol** (one example) :

*Mais mout volantiers, par saint Vol, Fabl., IV, 160.*

**St. Yvautre** (one example) :

*Par saint-Yvautre... Se vous n'alés, etc., Ogier, 4137 (L.).*

**St. Yves** (one example) :

*jura saint Yves, Mich. et Pouj., I, Bertr. du Guescl., ch. xxx.*

1. Rab., III, 246 ; IV, 189.

2. Also : Rab., I, 261 ; CMar., II, 173.

3. Also : HBord., 1294 ; Berte, 1222 (L.) ; Alisc., 5751 ; Enf. Ogier, 796 (L.) ; etc. See Langlois.

b) MISCELLANEOUS PERSONAGES, OBJECTS OF CHRISTIAN  
WORSHIP

**Mary Maglalen,**

The Magdalen's name is only found in oaths in a few rare examples.

*Mais, par la Magdalene, Je voi*, BSebourg., II, 116 (L.). — *Par la benoiste Madalaine, Ceste aultre sy n'a plus d'alaine*, R. F. M. S-J., IV, 11, 20. — *Par sainte Madeleine, Mon serment, il est deiga las*, ib., II, 12, 22.

**Mary, the Egyptian.**

Only one example is known to me of the invocation of St. Mary <sup>1</sup>.

*Par Marie l'Egyptienne ! C'il puet estre choze provee*, Ruteb., II, 82.

**Pope <sup>2</sup>.**

Only two examples have been found.

*Par les saincts couillons du Pape, dit frere Ian, voyla un beau danseur*, Rab., III, 216. — *a juré saint Vicaire*, ACarth., 1794.

**Abbot (one example).**

*Foi que doi mon seignor l'abé, Fet cil, et l'ordre dont je sui, Ainc ne li dist por vostre amie*, Fabl., I; 155.

Compare also :

*Par la foi que je doi Berrart L'arceprestre que je voi la*, Ren.; XVII, 1270. — *Foi que je doi frere Hubert*, ib., XVII, 701.

1. We may possibly have another example in *Par ceste Pecherresse lasse, Si j'eusse ayde, je vous lyasse* (Th. frç. av. la Ren., 100) ; see editor's note to this passage.

2. See above, p. 92 ff., for oaths by *Saint Père*.

## 6. ABSTRACTIONS AND MATERIAL OBJECTS RELATING TO THE PASSION OF CHRIST

The majority of these objects of invocation occur rarely in oaths. *Les plaies* and *la croix* alone furnish fixed oath-forms of frequent occurrence. Except for the single formula *par sainte croix* <sup>1</sup>, this type of oath is not found in religious literature, and seems characteristic of writing of a popular and frivolous nature.

### a) ABSTRACTIONS

**les angoisses** (rare) :

*Trahiz, por les angoisses Dé ! Qui es-tu, qui m'as afronté ?*, Fabl., IV, 188. — *Vous vuidez de ma maison, Par les angoisses Dieu, moy lasse*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 97 <sup>2</sup>.

**l'écourgée** (one example) :

Mentioned by Deschamps, vol. I, 273.

**les fièvres** (one example) :

*Par les fievers Dieu, je voy bien Que nous sommes trestous trompez*  
R. G. S., II, 191.

**les pas** (one example) :

Mentioned by Deschamps, vol. I, 274.

1. See below, p. 101-103.

2. Also : Th. frç. av. la Ren., 102 ; Eust. Desch., I, 273 (mentioned).

**la passion** (one example) :

*Par la Passion Dieu, met jus La pel, ou tu le conparras*, Fabl., III, 350.

**les plaies** :

Specific examples of this oath in independent employment are not numerous, but the frequent mention of it along with other oaths shows it to have been in common use at all periods <sup>1</sup>.

*Par les ples bieu, ie te turay*, R. F. M. S-J., III, 14, 16. — *Les playes Dieu ! Qu'est-ce que s'attaque ?*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 102.

b) MATERIAL OBJECTS

**les clous** (very rare) :

Mentioned by Deschamps, vol. I, 273 and by DuCange <sup>2</sup>.

**la coiffe** (very rare) :

*par la Quoiffe Dieu... encce en parlerons-nous*, Joinv., 242. — *par la goiffe bieu*, Jeh. et Bl., Suchier, 2658 <sup>3</sup>.

**la croix** :

An oath *ad crucem* or *supra crucem* is frequently mentioned as a religious and legal process of justice in the middle ages <sup>4</sup>. In a capitulary of Charlemagne (ann. 779) such an oath is employed in a special rite for the investigation of perjury <sup>5</sup>. In French literature examples of invocations of the cross

1. GCoins., 620 ; Fabl., IV, 123 ; Eust. Desch., I, 272 ; Du Cange, s. v., « Juramentum ».

2. S. v. « Juramentum ».

3. See Zöckler, p. 60 and Suchier, *Œuvres de Beaumanoir*, II, 418.

4. See Du Cange, s. v. « Juramentum ».

5. See Bouquet, Rec. des Hist. des Gaules, V, 647 ; also, Zöckler, p. 1.

appear throughout the period under examination. Whereas the *official* oath *ad* or *supra crucem* addresses its attestation to the form of the cross erected in the Church where the oath was taken, the oath-forms in French with few exceptions <sup>1</sup> seem to invoke directly the cross of Christ.

Before the end of the fourteenth century examples occur occasionally <sup>2</sup>. In the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* they become common <sup>3</sup>. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, occurrences are frequent in the coarser drama <sup>4</sup>.

The form of the invocation varies greatly. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries no fixed formulas are found. I have noticed the following forms : *par sainte croix* <sup>5</sup>, *par la croix* <sup>6</sup>, *par la seinte croise de dé* <sup>7</sup>, *par cele crois ou li cors Deu fu mis* <sup>8</sup> and *par la crois au Sauveor* <sup>9</sup>.

In the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* the invocation is usually *par sainte croix* ; *par sainte croys de Valenton* <sup>10</sup> and *foy que je doy sainte croys* <sup>11</sup> occur once each. The drama of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries generally employs the form (*par*) (*la*) *croix bieu* (*Dieu*) <sup>12</sup> ; *par sainte croys* <sup>13</sup>,

1. *par sainte croix de Valenton*, Mir. ND., XXXVI, 200 ; *par cest croix*, A. Th. frç., II, 70. For late examples such as *par la croix que voi là*, A. Th. frç., VII, 18, see Zöckler, pp. 113-4.

2. Jeu St. Nicholas, Th. frç. au m. a., 177 ; Erec., 1819 ; Ren., Va, 479 ; Li Nerb., 5291 ; Cor. Lo., 1474, 2585 ; Fabl., IV, 152.

3. II, 654 ; IV, 139, 601 ; IX, 129 ; XVI, 244 ; XXIX, 82 ; XXXI, 776 ; XXXVI, 200.

4. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 107, 150, 160, 164 ; R. G. S., II, 34, 83 ; R. F. M. S-J., I, 22, 1 ; ib., I, 12, 19 ; ib., IV, 2, 9 ; etc.

5. Th. frç. au m. a., 177.

6. Erec., 1819.

7. Ren., Va, 479.

8. Cor. Lo., 1474.

9. Fabl., IV, 152.

10. XXXVI, 129.

11. IX, 129.

12. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 150, 164 ; R. F. M. S-J., I, 12, 9 ; ib., I, 22, 1 ; ib., III, 45, 6 ; ib., IV, 2, 9 ; A. Th. frç., I, 17 ; ib., II, 27, 423 ; R. G. S., II, 83 ; Rec. de Farces, 142.

13. R. F. M. S-J., II, 4, 32.



*par la croix*<sup>1</sup>, *par la croix ou Dieu s'estendy*<sup>2</sup> and *par la grant croix de bieu*<sup>3</sup> are each found in one example.

The function of the oath, whether employed in serious or frivolous context, is noticeably emphatic, as can be judged from the following examples :

*Par cele croix o Jesu fu pené, Se ne me ranz Guibelin an santé, Ja sera mort le neveu l'amiré, Li Nerb., 5291. — Mais, par la crois que requierent palmier, Ainceis le vespre ne le soleil colchié, Cuit ge ma char de la toe vengier, Cor. Lo., 2585. — Que foy que je doy sainte croys, S'en avant de cy vous y truis, De male mort serez destruis, Mir. ND., IX, 129. — The « drapier » to « Maistre Pathelin » : Par la croix ou Dieu s'estendy, C'est a vous a qui je vendy Six aulnes de drap, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 107. — Chagrain, courroux, bruyt et tempeste ! Voire, par le grant croix de bieu, J'en baptray tant ung en ce lieu, Qu'il ne pensera que a mourir, R. G. S., II, 34.*

**le sêpulcre** (very rare) :

*Par le sepulcre ou Jhesu fu couchiés, Ja vostre drois n'en sera bailiés, RCambr., 4017. — Par saint Sepulcre, il n'ira mie ainsi, Gar. Loh., I, 8.*

**le suaire** (one example) :

Mentioned by Deschamps, vol. I, p. 272.

**le temple où Dieu fut offert** (one example) :

*Par le temple ou dex fu oferz, Clerc et provoire sont tuit fol, Ren., VII, 329.*

1. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 160.

2. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 107.

3. R. G. S., II, 34.

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## 7. MISCELLANEOUS RELIGIOUS ABSTRACTIONS <sup>1</sup>.

This type of oath is especially frequent in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. During the fifteenth and sixteenth, its use is largely confined to the popular drama and Rabelais, and even in these texts only *le jour* (p. 105) and *le sacrement* (p. 107) are invoked more than sporadically. The oath is employed in profane and religious literature, in frivolous and serious function ; the different forms vary in their emphasizing power.

**Ave Maria** (very rare) :

*Foi que doi Ave Maria, Mes je cuit qu'autre chose i a*, Ruteb., I, 127 <sup>2</sup>.

**le baptême** (very rare) :

*Vous jurez... Par le batesme que reçustes... Quant vous fustes crestien fait Que vous avez veu*, etc., Th. frç. au m. a., 244 <sup>3</sup>.

**le baptistère** (one example) :

*Or me di, crestiens, par le toi baptistere*, Elie, 919.

**la bible** (one example) <sup>4</sup> :

*par l'evangile de la Bible*, R. F. M. S-J., II, 8, 26.

1. For abstractions relating to the Passion of Christ., see above, p. 100 ff.

2. Also : ib., I, 8.

3. Also : Vill., 13.

4. See also below., s. v., *Saintes paroles*.

**la chrétienté :**

Except for one occurrence in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*<sup>1</sup> invocations of this abstraction are confined to the chansons de geste, in which I have found eight examples. The invocation is directed either to *sainte chrétienté*<sup>2</sup> or to *ma (ta, vostre) chrétienté*<sup>3</sup>.

*par la foi que je doi sainte chrestienté, Il et touz ses linages sera sers raduté*, GBourg., 178. — *Et par vostre crestienté, Dites m'en pure verité*, Mir. ND., XXIV, 2271.

**le ciel (one example) :**

Rhadamanthus : *Si tu dis vray, je te jure et promets, Par le haut ciel ou je n'iray jamais, Que des enfers sortiras les brisees*, CMar., I, 81.

**la fête (rare) :**

*Mais foy que doy festes et veilles, Onques ne vey les meres d'eulx*, Vill., 72. — *Par la Feste Dieu ! je cuidoye*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 99.

The oath *Fête-Dieu Bayart*<sup>4</sup> owes its form apparently to a legend which reports that the oath *Fête-Dieu !* was a favorite utterance of the Chevalier Bayard<sup>5</sup>.

**le jour :**

*par le saint jour Dieu*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 153. — *Icellui curé jura par la journée qui estoit la jour de l'ascension*, Du Cange, s. v. « Juramentum », Lit. remiss. ann. 1383, in Reg., ch. 305. — *par le jour Dieu*, A. Th. frç., I, 349.

From the above examples we are lead to believe that such

1. XXIX, 2271.

2. GBourg., 178, 1492.

3. Doon, 1157 ; HCap., 4380 ; Gayd., 3319, 4697 ; ACarth., 6968 ; GBourg., 364.

4. Rab., I, 145 ; ib., II, 508.

5. See Zöckler, pp. 22-3.

oath-forms as *par le bon jour* <sup>1</sup>, *par le bon jourd'huy* <sup>2</sup>, *saint jourd'huy* <sup>3</sup> ! and *par le jour qui luyct* <sup>4</sup> should be classed here as invocations of the sanctity of religious festivals.

**la litanie** (one example) :

Mentioned by Deschamps, IV, 323.

**l'ordre** (sporadic) :

*Par l'ordre Dieu*, found three times in the fabliaux <sup>5</sup> is the only form of this invocation to occur in more than a single instance.

*Par l'ordre Dé, Or m'avez-vous servi a gré*, Fabl., I, 180. — *Or, par l'ordre des Mathelins, Telle jeunesse n'est pas folle*, Vill., 53., — *par mon ordre de saint Vincent*, Fabl., V, 119. — *jurer son ordre*, Li Nerb., 2664. — *par nostre ordre*, RCambr., 7340.

**la papimanie** (one example) :

A burlesque formation on *pape*.

*affermant et jurant par sa part de Papimanie qu'il avoit a heure praesente veu tous les Diables Deschainez* Rab., II, 506.

**la pâque** (very rare) :

*Par la pasque Dieu, non sera*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 127.

(*par la*) *Pâque de dieu* was according to tradition a favorite oath of Louis XI <sup>6</sup>. Rabelais uses in several instances the oath *Pasques de soles* ! <sup>7</sup> (i. e. Palm Sunday).

1. Fabl., II, 162.

2. A. Th. frç., II, 70.

3. A. Th. frç., II, 47.

4. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 282.

5. Fabl., I, 180, 186 ; V, 123.

6. See Zöckler, 22.

7. I, 287-8.

**la pâtenôte :**

Confined largely to the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries <sup>1</sup>; its occurrence is sporadic.

*Et par la sainte Paternostre... S'enor et vostre volenté Porquis,* Ch. Lyon, 3653. — *Foï que doi sainte Paternostre, Fait Nobles, ainsi n'ira mie,* Ren., XVI, 1268. — *Douce, par sainte Patrenostre, Quanqu'il i a ce est tout vostre,* Fabl., III, 83. — *Foy que je doy la paternostre, Et je me vueil ycy gesir,* Mir. ND., III, 194 <sup>2</sup>.

**le sacrement :**

Examples are confined to the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* and the drama of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The usual form is *par le sacrement de l'autel* <sup>3</sup>; this is the only form in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*. In the drama of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries *par mon sacrement* <sup>4</sup>, *par le saint sacrement* <sup>5</sup>, *le sacrement Dieu !* <sup>6</sup> and *par le sacrement de la messe* <sup>7</sup> occur sporadically.

*Assez tost tout aise serez, Par le sacrement de l'autel,* Mir. ND., XXXI, 1123. — *Par le sacrement de l'autel, Sans cesser elle me veult battre,* Rec. de Farces, 99. — *Je cuyde, par mon sacrement, Qu'ilz ont recongneu mon visage,* Th. frç. av. la Ren., 239.

**la sainte charité :**

Confined to the *Renart* <sup>8</sup> and the chansons de geste <sup>9</sup>. Except

1. However : A. Th. frç., I, 244.

2. Also : Fabl., II, 117 ; ib., III, 210, 241.

3. Mir. ND., II, 594 ; ib., III, 350 ; ib., XXXI, 1123 ; Rec. de Farces, 99 ; A. Th. frç., II, 332 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 179.

4. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 106, 239.

5. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 99.

6. Rec. de Farces, 105.

7. A. Th. frç., I, 233 ; ib., III, 20.

8. II, 549 ; III, 242 ; XIII, 1949.

9. RCambr., 3778, 5296, 8005 ; Aiol, 8697 ; Cor. Lo, 1394 ; Am. u. Am., 2750.

for one example of *par non de sainte charité*<sup>1</sup>, the form is *pir* (*pour*) *sainte charité*.

*Nenil, voir, par sainte charité*, RCambr., 8005. — *Merci, Guillelmes, por sainte charité*, Cor. Lo., 1394. — *Sire, par seinte charité, Vos n'estes pas bien asené*, Ren., XIII, 1949.

**le saint esprit :**

I have found this oath only in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with especial frequency in the fabliaux. The form of invocation varies greatly.

*Signor, issez, en non saint-Esperit*, Gar. Loh., I, 105. — *par le cors saint Espir*, Doon, 8424. — *Vous estes venus seur mon pois Ceenz, foi que doi saint Espir*, Fabl., III, 200. — *Qu'est-ce, por le saint Espirit ?* ib., V, 230. — *de par le saint Espir*, ib., V, 72<sup>2</sup>.

**la sainte Foi (sporadic) :**

*Et dit : Renart, par seinte Foi, Je vos aim molt*, Ren., XI, 205. — *Et vous, foy que doy sainte Foiz... je vous feray pendre*, Mir. ND., XXIX, 2085<sup>3</sup>.

**les saintes paroles (one example) :**

*Par les saintez paroles qui sunt chi en present, N'ai de mot menti*, GNant., 908

**le signe de Compiègne (one example) :**

Found in a fabliau of the thirteenth century from the territory of Ponthieu.

*Par le saint Signe de Compiegne, Dame, fet il, vous avez tort*, Fabl., III, 242.

1. Ren., II, 549.

2. Fabl., III, 26 ; ib., IV, 118 ; see also Langlois.

3. Also : Th. frç. au m. a., 256.



la Trinité :

The majority of my examples are from the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* <sup>1</sup> ; elsewhere occurrences of the oath are sporadic <sup>2</sup>. The Trinity is generally invoked by the appellation *sainte Trinité* ; *la Trinité* <sup>3</sup>, *grande Trinité* <sup>4</sup> and *benoîte Trinité* <sup>5</sup> also occur in oaths.

*Sire, dist le vallet, par sainte Trinité, La terre n'ot segnor bien a xx. ans passé.* Gaufr., 7323. — *Oil, par sainte Trinité,* Fabl., II, 117. — *Or sa, de par la Trinité, Seez vous ci,* Mir. ND., VII, 22.

la vertu <sup>6</sup> :

Three forms of the invocation of this abstraction occur : *par la vertu du ciel*, found only in the chansons de geste <sup>7</sup>, *par la vertu nommée*, found only in the chansons de geste <sup>8</sup> and *par la vertu souveraine*, occurring in a single example from the fifteenth century <sup>9</sup>.

*Que s'elle en gouste, par la vertu dou ciel, Je vous ferai touz les membres tranchier,* Jourd., Bl., 361. — *Veci nos anemis, par la vertu nommee,* Aye, 3884.

1. II, 241 ; VI, 539 ; VII, 22 ; XVI, 1214 ; XXIII, 1834 ; XXXI, 522.

2. Gaufr., 5807, 7323 ; RCambr., 6392 ; Ruteb., II, 17 ; Fabl., II, 117.

3. Mir. ND., VII, 22 ; ib., XXIII, 1824 ; ib. XXXI, 522.

4. Gaufr., 5807.

5. Mir., XVI, 1214.

6. See above *Vertu de dieu*, p. 35 ff.

7. GBourg., 1264 ; Par. Duch., 2443 ; Jourd. Bl., 360, 1864.

8. Aye, 3884 ; ACarth., 1313.

9. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 76.

## 8. MISCELLANEOUS HOLY MATERIAL. OBJECTS <sup>1</sup>

There are here included a few scattered oath-forms, none of which were ever fixed formulas in common use.

The invocation of the clerical robe <sup>2</sup> is found sporadically. Friar John in Rabelais makes use of the forms *par le (digne et sacré) froc (habit) que je porte* <sup>3</sup> and *Vertus de froc!* <sup>4</sup> *Par nostre chape bise* is found in the utterances of the Abbé of St. Denis in *Li Nerbonnais* <sup>5</sup>.

The invocation of a holy place is found in the following examples :

• *Mes s'il veoit vostre seel, Foi que je doi saint Israel, Lors sai ge bien qu'il vendroit*, Ren., I, 938. — *Par sainte Spire de Corbueil, Frère, moult volentiers je vois*, Mir. ND., XVIII, 1008 <sup>6</sup>. — *Qui a juré... moustiers Que pour ung moyne ne fauldra le convent*, R. P. F., X, 211.

Note also the example.

*Par le digne veu de Charrous (a statue) <sup>7</sup>, le moindre de ces moutons vault*, etc., Rab., II, 294.

1. For Holy Material Objects relating to the Passion of Christ, see above, p. 100 ff. ; for invocations of relics, see p. 61 ff. and under names of individual saints ; for invocation of the *Saint Sang*, see under *sang de dieu*, p. 51 ff.

2. DuCange, s. v., « Juramentum », cites the official oath *per stolam*.

3. I, 163 ; II, 305, 356, 399.

4. III, 58.

5. 2695.

6. Again : ib., XXIII, 1524.

7. Rabelais, Firmin-Didot, note.

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## 9. THE DEVIL, DEVILS <sup>1</sup>

Oaths invoking the Devil are comparatively rare before the fifteenth century; *de par le diable* occurs once in the fabliaux <sup>2</sup>, once in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* <sup>3</sup> and once in the *Sept Sages* <sup>4</sup>; an example of *par diables* is quoted by Tolle (p. 44) <sup>5</sup>; *el nom del vij malfé* occurs once <sup>6</sup>. In the popular writing of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the invocation of the Devil becomes frequent (once in 4000 lines for the drama) in the form *de par le diable* <sup>7</sup> and the strengthened forms, — *le grand diable* <sup>8</sup>, — *le petit diable* <sup>9</sup>, — *tout diable* <sup>10</sup>, — *tous les diables* <sup>11</sup> — *tous les grands diables* <sup>12</sup>, — *trente millions de diables* <sup>13</sup>, — *cinq mille et millions de charrettes de diables* <sup>14</sup>, etc. This form of oath is especially frequent in Rabelais in utterances of Friar John and Panurge <sup>15</sup>. Other forms of invocation, viz. *par diable* <sup>16</sup> and *par le diable* <sup>17</sup>, are sporadic.

1. I omit all exclamatory invocations such as *Diable !, comment diable !*, etc., which are common in Old French, see : Gar. Loh., I, 146, 274; Airol, 122; Aym. Narb., 3554; Fabl., II, 133, 181; etc.

2. II, 250.

3. XIII, 673.

4. 20.

5. Octavian, afz. Bibl., III, 1883, v. 2958.

6. Alisc., 7723 b.

7. Rec. de Farces, 27, 141; R. G. S., I, 217; ib., II, 84, 188, 194; Th. rç. av. la Ren., 153, 185; R. F. M. S-J., I, 7, 16; etc.

8. R. F. M. S-J., III, 13, 8.

9. Rab., II, 50.

10. R. P. F., VI, 95.

11. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 186; Mich. et Pouj., IV, 519; R. F. M. S-J., II, 9. 13; Rab., II, 172, 341; etc.

12. R. F. M. S-J., II, 3, 21.

13. Rab., II, 348.

14. Rab., II, 347.

15. I, 144, 156, 311; II, 14, 50, 79, 172, 373, 438, 464; III, 37; etc.

16. A. Th. frç., III, 356, 365.

17. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 107.

The syntactic function of *de par le diable*, etc. is the same as that of *de par dieu*<sup>1</sup>. It is generally employed interjectionally; if it qualify an utterance, it is generally adjuvative.

*Or sa, de par le deable, sa !* R. G. S., I, 217. — *Et hay ! de par le dyable, hay !*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 153. — *Allez, de par le dyable*, Rec. de Farces, 141. — *Escoute ung peu, de par le diable*, R. G. S., II, 84. — *Marie toy de par le Dyable*, Rab., II, 231. — *Je ne peuz me passer de femme, de par tous les diables*, ib., II, 172. — *Eh, par diable, c'est assez ; Jeunesse, tueras-tu le Monde ?*, A. Th. frç., III, 356.

1. See above, p. 14 ff.

## II. Pagan objects of invocation.

Occurrences of oaths in the utterances of pagan speakers are found principally in the chansons de geste and the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*; occasional examples occur in the *Jeu St. Nicholas*, Gautier de Coinsy, the Courtly Epic, Rabelais and the farces. The oaths of pagan speakers, naturally, differ from these in usage by Christians only when a religious object is invoked. The forms of pagan oaths by religious objects display the greatest ignorance on the part of the Old French regarding the deities of pagans of different race and religion. The Mohammedans invoke Mohammed, Apolyon, Tervagant, etc.<sup>1</sup>; the Saxons and Danish invoke also Mohammed, Tervagant, Cahu, etc.<sup>2</sup>; the Hungarians, Mohammed, Nero, Jupiter, etc.<sup>3</sup>; and even Roman citizens employ invocations of Mohammed and Apolyon<sup>4</sup>.

Pagan invocations of their deities by the appellation *dieu* are found commonly in the chansons de geste, the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* and the *Roman de Thèbes*. The forms employed by the Mohammedans in the chansons de geste invoke *dieu* in the singular. The form is always *dieu* or a substitute (*seigneur, celui*, etc.) plus a relative clause<sup>5</sup>.

*par celui qui je doi aourer*, HBord, 6426. — *par cel dex a qui me sui donez*, Otin., 123. — *par cheli segnor que je trai a garant*, Gaufr., 2698. — *par celui qui j'ai m'ame voee*, Alisc., 7157. — etc.

The Greek and Roman characters of the *Roman de Thèbes* and the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* invoke

1. Aiol, 660, 5051; Li Nerb., 3746, 4213; etc.

2. Gaufr., 7262; Doon, 7502, 9222; etc.

3. Gaufr., 8695; etc.

4. Thèbes, 2218; etc.

5. See above, pp. 26 ff. and 41 ff, for Christian oaths of identical form.

*dieux* in the plural <sup>1</sup>. The two forms a) *dieux* with a qualifying possessive adjective <sup>2</sup> and b) *dieux* plus a relative clause <sup>3</sup> are employed.

a) *dieux* with a qualifying possessive adjective.

Found only in the *Miracles*.

*Seigneur, de dueil sui si confus, Par mes diex, que ne le puis dire*, Mir. ND., XIII, 220. — *Je ne sçay qu'il dit, par noz diex*, ib., XXI, 452. — *Se poise moy, par touz noz diex*, ib., XX, 62 <sup>4</sup>.

b) *dieux* plus a relative clause.

Found in the *Miracles* and in the *Roman de Thèbes*.

*Par toz les deus que nos creon*, Thèbes, 2751. — *par toz les deus en cui jo crei*, ib., 683. — *Seigneurs, par les diex que je croy, Je hé tant ces gens crestiens*, Mir. ND., XXIV, 129 <sup>5</sup>.

## 1. INDIVIDUAL DEITIES INVOKED BY NAME

**Apolin** (confusion of *Apollo*, — *inem* and *Apollyon*, Revelation, IX, 11 ?) :

Scattered occurrences are found in utterances of Mohammedans, Greeks and Romans.

*Ostes, pour mon Dieu Apolin ! Sont dont crestien en ma terre*, Jeu St. Nicholas, Th. frq. au m. a., 165. — *Signor, tornés bataille, por la loi Apolin*, Airol, 5051. — *foy que doi Apolin*, BBouillon, 223 (L.). — (*jurer*) *d'Apolin l'image*, ACarth., 1250 <sup>6</sup>.

**Baraton** (sporadic in the chansons de geste) :

*Et Machabré respont : Par mon dieu Baraton*, Gaufr., 8511. —

1. See, however, *par le Dieu que j'aour*, Mir. ND., XXII, 1154.

2. See, p. 19 ff.

3. See pp. 26 ff. and 41 ff.

4. Also : XXV, 84, 160, 936.

5. Also : Thèbes, 683 ; Mir. ND., XX, 92 ; ib., XXV, 883 ; etc.

6. Th. frq. au m. a., 178 ; Thèbes, 2218 ; see also Langlois.



*par la foi que doi nostre Dieu Baraton* ib., 1883. — *jure t'vгант et Mahom, Et Apolin et son dieu baraton*, Enf. Viv., 591 (L.) <sup>1</sup>.

**Cahu** (sporadic in the chansons de geste) :

*Mahommet a juré, Tervagant et Cahu*, Doon, 1067. — *Il aront mal ostel, foi que je doi Cahu*, Gaufr., 6999. — *par nostre dieu Cahu*, Aye, 3746 <sup>2</sup>.

**Diane** (one example) :

*Nanil, par Dyanne la belle, Que nous aurons comme dresse*, Mir. ND., XXII, 320.

**Mahomet** :

Most of my examples are from the chansons de geste. Sporadic occurrences are found in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* <sup>3</sup>, the *Jeu St. Nicholas* <sup>4</sup> and *Rabelais* <sup>5</sup>. The form of the invocation is usually *par (pour) Mahomet* or *par (pour) Mahomet* plus a relative clause; *par Mahomet mon dieu* <sup>6</sup>, *par mon dieu Mahomet* <sup>7</sup>, *par Mahomet le puissant (postif)* <sup>8</sup>, *foi que doi Mahomet* <sup>9</sup>, etc. are also found. The invocation of physical attributes of Mohammed occurs in *Le cuer, la bouche et les denz Jure souvent de Mahommet* (GCoins., 418) and *Ventre Mahom* (Rab., I, 287).

*Par Mahomet, mar i fu oubliés*, Alisc., 7554. — *De vous me vueil tenir saisi*, *Par Mahon, maistre*, Mir. ND., XXIV, 153. — *Paillars de plat pays*, *Par Mahon...*, *ie vous feray mourir*, Rab., I, 357. — *Pour Mahon, comment va ?*, BBouillon, 1163 (L.). — *par ice!*

1. Also : Fier., 4301, 4806 ; BSebourg., I, 112 (L.) ; etc.

2. Doon, 9460, 10668 ; Aub(a.), 142 ; see also Langlois.

3. XXIV, 155.

4. Th. frç. au m. a., 166, 173.

5. I, 287, 357, etc.

6. Prise de Cordres, 679 ; Mir. ND., XXXVI, 1531.

7. Th. frç. au m. a., 173 ; etc.

8. Gaufr., 1112 ; RCambr., 7928.

9. See Langlois.

*Mahom qui tout a a bailler*, Elie, 1749. — *Par Mahomet que l'en acoure et proie*, Li Nerb., 3746. — *Par Mahomet a qui m'ame est voee*, ib., 4639 ; etc. <sup>1</sup>.

**Malaquin** (rare) :

*foi que doi Malaquin*, Doon, 9534 <sup>2</sup>.

**Pilate** (one example) :

*Pur la fei qui dei Pilate Si nul venge faire barate Tels quinze cols li paiera*, Ressurrection, Th. frç. au m. a., 19

**Platon** (very rare) :

*jurer...* *Platon*, ACarth., 939 and 4591.

**Pluton** (one example) :

*Mais par Pluton, le Dieu que doy nommer, Mourir de faim ne scaurions*, CMar., I, 51.

**Tervagant** (common in the chansons de geste) :

*Que se il vous escape, foi que doi Tervagant, Ne vous leroi*, Gaufr., 6746. — *por Tervagant, Issons*, Maugis, 3258 (L.). — *Par mon dieu Tervagant*, Doon, 7502 ; etc. <sup>3</sup>.

## 2. OBJECTS OF PAGAN WORSHIP

Examples of this form of oath are very rare.

*Par mes idres et par ma loi, N'en crerrai autre loement*, Thèbes, 4248. Compare also *par Styx* <sup>4</sup>, *Vertus de Styx* <sup>5</sup> and *Vertus d'Achiron* <sup>6</sup>.

1. See Langlois.

2. See Langlois.

3. See also Langlois.

4. Rab., III, 50 (Grippeminaud of the « Chats-fourrés »).

5. Rab., II, 258 (Jupiter).

6. Rab., II, 63 (Jupiter).

**B) OBJECTS OF INVOCATION PERTAINING TO THE  
SPEAKER, THE PERSON ADDRESSED OR THE PERSON  
REFERRED TO.**

The body of oaths included in this class of invocations of objects of personal reverence, is, roughly calculated, about as large as that of the preceding division of religious oaths. The number of forms is, however, much smaller than for the preceding, as at least one half of the examples of invocations of objects of personal reverence invoke either the soul or the faith of the speaker, the person addressed or the person referred to. As a rule the personal oath is far less emphatic than the religious, some of its forms, such as *par foi* and *par ma vérité*, being rather adverbial phrases than invocations in asseveration or adjuration. The invocation of religious objects, at the same time that it attests a superhuman power to prove the truth of an utterance, gains added emphasis from the fact that its employment is in a measure sacrilegious, punishable by law as well as forbidden by doctrine. The force of the personal oath is due either to the indirect imprecation, as in *par mon chief*, or else, like the religious oath, to the attestation of some revered attribute or person without, however, the added emphasis of sacrilege, as *par (mon) amour*, *par ma vie*. We have an illustration of this comparative lack of asseverative emphasis in the personal oath in the fact that a number of its forms appear not only in religious context but in the utterances of members of the clergy of the highest rank <sup>1</sup>.

1. See below, pp. 119, 128.

The invocation of the person itself of the speaker by the speaker himself is found, but very rarely. Only two examples are known to me <sup>1</sup>.

*Car, de par moy, vous demourrez*, Rec. de Farces, 34 and 39.

It has seemed advisable to divide invocations pertaining to the speaker etc. into three divisions : I. Abstract Attributes, II. Material Attributes and III. Individuals bearing a relation of some sort to the speaker, the person addressed or the person referred to.

1. For invocations of person addressed, see p. 143 ff.
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## I. Abstract Attributes.

l'âme :

Frequent mention is found of the employment of oaths by the soul for official purposes <sup>1</sup>. The oath was customarily employed by ambassadors transmitting the faith of their lords by means of an oath *in sua anima* <sup>2</sup>.

The forms for the invocation of the soul are numerous. For the most part their asseverative or adjurative value was very slight. They occur not only in polite profane literature, but are furthermore common in religious literature and in utterances of the high clergy <sup>3</sup>.

PAR MON AME ; PAR VOTRE (TON) AME :

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries *par m'ame* is found only in the Courtly Epic <sup>4</sup>, the fabliaux <sup>5</sup> and Gautier de Coinsy <sup>6</sup> and in one case in the *Renart* <sup>7</sup>. The oath is distinctive of the Courtly Epic, where it is, with the exception of *par foi* the most frequently employed oath. Occurrences of the oath are frequent in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par per-sonnages* (once in 1000 lines). During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it occurs in the forms *par mon âme* and *mon*

1. See DuCange, s. v. « Juramentum ».

2. Compare : *Et etiam haec omnia... jurari jussimus in Animam Nostram per nobilem virum Bernardum*, Charta Jacobi Reg. Majoric. ann. 1204 (quoted from Du Cange).

3. Mir. ND., II, 586 (a bishop) ; ib., X, 657 (*clerc*) ; ib., XVI, 1250 (pope) ; ib., XVI, 494 (cardinal) ; etc.

4. Ch. Lyon, 5745 ; Mer., 1654, 3782 ; Ch. ii esp., 1360, 2802, 7408 ; Escoufle 4283 ; etc.

5. II, 9, 110, 194 ; III, 56, 279 ; IV, 145 ; V, 116, 154 ; VI, 3, 142.

6. 121, 227, 298, 429, 505, 508, 683.

7. XII, 134.

âme ! as often as once in 1200 lines in the drama, and is also common in poetry and prose <sup>1</sup>.

The adjectival form *par votre (ton) âme* is found only in Gautier de Coinsy <sup>2</sup> and the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* <sup>3</sup>.

*Desdaing, sire ? Non faz, par mon ame*, Ch. Lyon, 5745. — *Bien soiez venue, par m'ame*, Mer., 3782. — *Je cuit mout bien, fait il, par m'ame, Que de biauté n'est sa pareille*, Escoufle, 4283. — *A dire ne vous sai, par m'ame, Où la trouva ne dont il vint*, GCoins., 505. — *Diz me tu voir ? Oïl, par m'ame*, Fabl., VI, 142. — *Sire Orri, voutentiers, par m'ame, G'i vois courant*, Mir. ND., XXVII, 773. — *Par m'ame je ne sçay comment Elle amendera ce deffault*, ib., XVI, 494. — *Par mon ame, mon amy doulx, Vous luy avez trop fait d'honneur*, Mist., I, 347. — *Par mon ame, je n'en sçay rien*, R. G. S., II, 150. — *di moi, par t'ame, Cest ymage de qui est ele ?*, GCoins, 424. — *En savez vous riens, par vostre ame ?* Mir. ND., XXVI, 569. — *Françoise, aidiez moy, par vostre ame, A la couchier*, ib., XXXVII, 436. — *Mon ame, il s'est bien absenté. Que luy avez-vous présenté ? Mon ame, rien*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 332. — *bon gré, mon ame*, ib., 338.

#### SUR MON AME :

*Sur mon âme* appears as early as Gautier de Coinsy <sup>4</sup> as an adverbial phrase qualifying verbs such as *jurer*, *creanter*, etc. Its employment as a true asseveration begins first at the end of the fourteenth century <sup>5</sup>. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the oath becomes very common <sup>6</sup>. In Rabelais and the drama *sur mon âme* is about one fourth as frequent as *par mon âme*, elsewhere the two oath-forms display the same frequency of occurrence approximately.

1. Chans. du xv<sup>e</sup> s., 66 ; R. P. F., IX, 159, 226 ; ib., XI, 23 ; CMar., I, 31 ; ib., II, 10 ; ib., II, 145, 411 ; Rab., I, 24, 71 ; ib., II, 181, 454 ; etc.

2. 424.

3. XXVI, 569 ; XXVIII, 742 ; XXIX, 2231 ; XXXI, 1097, 2339, 2763 ; XXXIV, 275 ; XXXVII, 436.

4. GCoins., 213.

5. Eust. Desch., I, 170 ; Mir. ND., II, 1081.

6. Rond., LXXXVII ; Chans. du xv<sup>e</sup> s., 19 ; R. P. F., X, 214 ; ib., XIII, 34 ; Mich. et Pouj., IV, 491 ; etc.



*Seur Dieu vous creant et seur m'ame*, etc., GCoins., 213. — *Noah : Sur mon ame, voecy bon moust*, Mist., I, 248. — *J'euz a l'eure, sur mon ame, Le cueur plus fier qu'ung lyon*, Chans. du xv<sup>e</sup> s., 19. — *Ce ne feray je, sur mon ame*, Rec. de Farces, 40. — *Que veut-il avoir ? Sur mon ame, Mal temps en chascun saison*, ib., 115. — *Quant luy respondis : Sur mon ame, Que j'en estoys tres bien contente*, R. F. M. S-J., I, 22, 7.

PAR (SUR<sup>1</sup>) L'AME DE MOI (TOI) :

Found sporadically at all periods.

*Si feras par l'ame de toi*, Ren., XI, 1284. — *Or me di par l'ame de toi, Se bleche t'a*, ib., XIV, 833. — *Biaux seigneurs, par l'ame de my, Je vous ayderay volentiers*, Mir. ND., III, 322. — *Par l'ame de moy, non fera*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 343<sup>2</sup>.

FOI QUE (JE) DOIS A MON AME :

The oath is very frequent in Gautier de Coinsy<sup>3</sup> and is commonly employed in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*<sup>4</sup>. It is surprising that no example of an adjurative oath by the soul in the form (*par la*) *foi que vous (tu) devez (dois) à votre (ton) âme* should have been found. The fact that *foi que je dois à mon âme*, except for one example<sup>5</sup>, occurs only in religious literature, gives the oath a distinctly religious character. In Gautier de Coinsy, at least, the special frequency of its occurrence may possibly be due to the fact that it furnishes an easy rhyme for *Dame*, employed to refer to the Virgin ; in seven out of our nine examples this is the case.

*C'onques puis n'oi, foi que doi m'ame, Doute de mer ne de rien nee*, GCoins, 610. — *Or cornerai ci la retraite, Que touz sui las, foi que doi m'ame, Tant vous ai dite de Nostre Dame*, ib., 681. — *Ne*

1. Mir. ND., XXVI, 742.

2. Also : Ren., XI, 802 ; Mir. ND., XIX, 624 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 342.

3. 155, 228, 252, 319, 543, 608, 609, 610, 681.

4. V, 51 ; XI, 355 ; XV, 230 ; XXIX, 1417 ; XXXI, 1267.

5. Fabl., I, 252.

*doubtez que bien ne vous paie, Foy que doy m'ame*, Mir. ND., XXXI, 1267.

PAR CETTE AME :

Occurrences of this invocation are observed at all periods, but with special frequency in the miracles of the fourteenth century. It also furnishes an exceptional number of examples in the poem *L'Escoufle*.

*Dites li bien que, par ceste ame, Je l'aim plus que l'empereris*, Escoufle, 4026. — *Qu'en ce pais n'a, par ceste ame, De lui nulle plus preude femme*, Mir. ND., XXXI, 2468. — *Par ceste ame ! je ris et pleure Ensemble*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 101 <sup>1</sup>

Formulas for the invocation of the soul of the speaker, etc., other than the above-given, are not numerous. The following examples have been noted :

*par l'ame qui en moy repose*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 96 <sup>2</sup>. — *Par l'ame ou li cors me repose*, Th. frç. au m. a., 79. — *par l'ame qui au cors me bat*, R. P. F., IX, 235. — *Par le peril de m'ame*, Fabl., II, 117 <sup>3</sup>.

The invocation of the soul of a person dear to the speaker etc. <sup>4</sup> is a form of oath appearing with moderate frequency in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Two forms of this oath appear.

L'AME DE MA MERE (very rare) :

*Que, foi que doi l'ame ma mere, Je ne mengerai mes des denz, Tant com je le saurai ceenz*, Fabl., I, 90 <sup>5</sup>.

1. Also : Ren., II, 1315 ; Escoufle, 8159, 8186 ; Mir. ND., XII, 628 ; ib., XXIII, 890 ; ib., XXXV, 364 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 92.

2. Again : R. F. M. S-J., I, 4, 25.

3. Again : Th. frç. av. la Ren., 94.

4. See also, p. 143 ff.

5. Also : Am. u. Am., 1171 ; Ren., XXIII, 1667.

L'ÂME DE MON (VOTRE, TON) PÈRE :

In the chansons de geste, the *Renart* and the fabliaux, examples of this form occur approximately once to 4000 lines. I have found a few scattered examples later than the thirteenth century <sup>1</sup>. The asseverative form of invocation is usually *par l'âme de mon père* or *par la foi que je dois à l'âme de mon père*.

*Ne onques par l'ame mon pere, A sa feme ne quis folie*, Ren., VI, 504. — *Mais par l'arme mon pere, se il n'est amendé, J'en ferai tel justice, com il ert devisé*, Fier., 4521. — *Mais foi que doi l'ame mon père, Souvent de duel le cuer me serre*, GCoins., 559 <sup>2</sup>.

*Par l'âme Auquetain Hamel* (Fabl., IV, 195) shows the proper name replacing the generic term.

The adjurative form of invocation is generally *par l'âme de ton (votre) père* <sup>3</sup>; *foi que (tu) dois à l'âme de ton père* occurs in two instances <sup>4</sup>.

*Mes di moi par l'ame ton pere*, Ch. lyon, 5226. — *Dit il ce, par l'ame ton pere ?*, Fabl., I, 309. — *Diva ! fet il, es-tu gabierre ? Foi que tu doiz l'ame ton pere, Et ne croiz tu ce que je di ?*, Ren., XXIII, 292. — *Foi que doi l'ame de ton pere, Dont Dix faiche boïne merchi, Car atent .i. poi, ami*, Fabl., II, 93.

la conscience :

The first occurrence of the invocation of this abstraction is found in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* <sup>5</sup>. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it occurs in all forms of literature, but never with great frequency (once in 4000 lines in the drama). The form of the invocation is

1. Ballad of Deschamps (IV, 322), « Il faut jurer l'âme son père » ; Mir. ND., XXIV, 243 ; ib., XXVIII, 672 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 99.

2. Also : Ren., I, 369 ; ib., XI, 556, 878 ; ib., XVII, 182 ; ib., XXIII, 58 ; Es:oufle, 4483 ; Fier., 887 ; Am. u. Am., 479 ; RCambr., 5857 ; GCoins., 561 ; Ruteb., II, 210 ; Fabl., IV, 121.

3. Ren., XVI, 536 ; Th. frç. au m. a., 109 ; Aioli, 5368 ; Fabl., I, 308 ; ib., II, 49 ; ib., V, 152.

4. Fabl., II, 93 ; Ren., XXIII, 292.

5. XVIII, 1269.

usually *par ma (ta) conscience*, in a few examples *sur ma conscience* <sup>1</sup>.

*Si croy je, par ma conscience*, Mir. ND., XVIII, 1269. — *Par ma conscience, il est tout plain jusque a la rive*, Rec. de Farces, 12. — *Et souppoyt tresbien par ma conscience*, Rab., I, 84. — *Or vien ca : Par ta conscience, As-tu congneu ?* R. F. M. S.-J., I, 22, 10 <sup>2</sup>.

**la créance** (very rare) :

*Baron, dont istez-vos, en la vostre créance ? Dist li dus Berengiers : En la nostre creance, De France sommes nez*, Aye, 1455 <sup>3</sup>.

**la foi** :

Among the very numerous invocations of « faith » are comprised a number of the most frequently used oath-forms. The occurrence of these oath-forms is restricted to no period or periods, and is common in the most frivolous and the most serious context. Their value is for the most part very unemphatic. In some cases, indeed, their function resembles that of such adverbs as *voire*, *vraiment*, etc., rather than that of attesting invocations.

FOI QUE DOI etc. :

The invocation of the faith owed the objects invoked occurs so frequently and in such variant forms as to deserve special treatment.

The forms of most common occurrence may be represented by the formula [*par la (celle) (grande)*] *foi que (je) [(à)-] dois [(à)-] (porter)* in asseveration, with the corresponding forms (*par la*) *foi que vous (tu) devez (dois)* in adjuration <sup>4</sup>.

1. R. P. F., XI, 373 ; R. G. S., I, 42.

2. Also : Th. frç. av. la Ren., 88, 248 ; R. P. F., V, 190 ; R. F. M. S.-J., I, 4, 24 ; ib., ib., 22, 10 ; A. Th. frç., I, 36, 74 ; etc.

3. Also : GCoins., 545.

4. The following sporadic forms have been found : *Par la foi que je vos plevi*, Ren., Va, 424 ; *Par celle foi ke je vous ai portee*, Alisc., 2890 ; *Par cele*

These forms of invocation are found throughout the period under examination. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries they appear far less frequently than in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. No occurrences are found in Rabelais. All normal objects of invocation are invoked in these forms. The most frequently occurring specific forms are (*par la*) *foi que (je) vous dois* etc. in asseveration and (*par la*) *foi que vous (tu) me devez (dois)* etc. in adjuration<sup>1</sup>. In forms of adjuration invoking objects of personal relation the possessive sometimes remains in the first person and sometimes changes to the second<sup>2</sup>.

These forms occur generally in serious context ; their value is comparatively emphatic ; the asseverative forms occurring with especial frequency in solemn promises, threats, defiances, denials, etc., the adjurative forms in commands and urgent appeals.

*Onc, foi que doi sainte Marie, Ne fis de mon cors puterie*, Ren., I, 175. — *Keu, dist il, foi ke devés moi, Cest vallet a hostel menés*, Ch. .II. esp., 1540. — *foi que tu dois saint Marc ! Taisiés-vous-ent*, Th. frç. au m. a., 182. — *Or di, Par chelle foi que tu dois mi, Le plus grant joie c'ainc eusses*, Rob. et Mar., 572. — *Foi que doi saint Pere l'apostre... or voi ge bien*, RCharr., 1776. — *Non est, biaux niés, foi que dois saint Denys*, Gar. Loh., I, 263. — *Or me di verité, Par la foi que tu dois sainte crestienté*, GBOURG, 1492. — *Mais, par la foi que doi a mes barons S'or me donniez Senlis*, etc., Jourd. Bl., 401. — *Dame, foi que ge doi mon cors, Ge n'en istrai*, Fabl., I, 315. — *Foi que ge doi sainte Marie, Tel amende vous en ferai*, ib., III, 286. — *Que touz sui las, foi que doi m'ame*, GCoins., 681. — *Par la foy que je doy saint Fiacre, Droit la nous fault acheminer*, Mir. ND., III, 644. — *Plus ne me tenray donc ceans, Mon seigneur, foy que je vous doy*, ib., XIX, 687. — *par la foy que dois a Dieu,*

*foi ke j'ai a deu porté*, ib., 3285 ; *Par foi que j'e Dieu*, Otin., 285 ; *par la foi que ge ai presantee Charlon de France*, Aym. Narb., 1390 ; *Par cele foi que me plevistes*, Fabl., III, 241 ; *par la foy que vous m'avez baillie*, Joinv., 398 ; *Par celle foy qu'a moy avez*, Mir. ND., XXIII, 1661 ; *par la grant foy Et ferme qu'ay en toy*, ib., XXXV, 1350.

1. See below, p. 143 fg.

2. An infrequent occurrence ; compare : *Foi que du toiz l'ame ton pere*, Ren., XXIII, 292 ; *Par la foi que devez mon cors*, Fabl., V, 189.

*jamais ne mengeray*, Mich. et Pouj., I, Bertr. du Guescl., ch. xxxii.  
— *Foe que je dois a Nostre Dame, Je antens la ung autre coquin*,  
R. G. S., I, 5. — *Dictes-moy, foy que me devez, Se vous l'espervier*  
*osterez*, R. P. F., V, 210.

A FOI :

This prepositional phrase, with the exception of one occurrence in the sixteenth century<sup>1</sup>, does not occur outside of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Within these two centuries, it appears with greater frequency in the chansons de geste than elsewhere. Its function is that of a weak modifier. In over 75 % of the examples it modifies an imprecation, wish, greeting, or some exclamatory phrase ; it rarely emphasizes emphatic statements of purpose or expressions of emotion.

*A foi, dist ele, Mahm te puist grever*, HBord., 7533. — *Daez ait Clarembaus et quanqu'il a mandé Et tu a foi si aies quant tu l'as aporté*, Par. Duch., 2282. — *A foi ! Mau soïés-vous venus !*, Th. frç. au m. a., 177. — *A foi, bien vegniés-vous, segneur !*, ib., 192. — *A foi, dame Diex me confonde Se j'enjouir ne le revois*, Fabl., I, 210. — *A feit ! ço dist li reis, trop i ont grant huntage !*, Karls R., 660. — etc.

In the above examples the value of the phrase seems to be interjectional rather than asseverative or adjurative. A few examples show à foi in asseverative function.

*A foi tost le feroie du branc fourbi d'achier*, GNant., 247. — *A joy ! fist Salemon, n'en irez pas ainsi*, Doon, 385.

A LA FOI (one example) :

*A la foi, emperere, ce n'est or mie drois Que por un sol homme tous no deseritois*, Aye, 2638.

A MA FOI :

I have noted only six examples of this form, all of them

1. R. F. M. S-J., III 10, 22.



occurring in the epic poetry of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In all the examples the phrase modifies, without much emphasis, the answers to questions or requests <sup>1</sup>.

*Escuiers, qui l'ocist ? A la moie foi, sire, damoisiaus de pris*, Floov., 1024. — *Ha ! Dex ! ce dit Hugues, ou est celle fierté ? A la moie foi, sire, de celle part tornez*, Par. Duch., 1741 <sup>2</sup>.

EN FOI (one example) :

*Deus ! don ne m'amoit trop mes sire ? An foi, lasse, trop m'amoit il*, Erec., 2594.

EN MA FOI :

Examples are confined to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, occurring in the chansons de geste and the *Renart* about once to 3000 lines, in the fabliaux, infrequently. Its emphasizing value seems stronger than that of *à foi* or *à ma foi*. In some cases it modifies unemphatic statements, but in most of my examples it accompanies emphatic affirmations.

*En meie fei, fait Tydeus, Malement conquerron nos plus*, Thèbes, 2885. — *A trois bacons molt bien salés, Dont tu auras en moie foi*, Ren., XIV, 665. — *En la moie foi, sire, dist la belle al cler vis, Sor Mahom me jurastes, vous et vostre arabi, Que il n'i aroit garde n'a l'aler n'al venir*, Elie, 2146. — *En la moie foi, sire, malement es baillis*, Aye, 2946. — *en moie foi... l'otroi*, Ren., XXI, 25. — *Sont ce vostre dui fil ? Il li respont : En moie foi, oil*, RCambr., 8269 ; etc. <sup>3</sup>.

PAR FOI :

Except for a few sporadic occurrences in the fifteenth

1. See also the usage of *en nom dieu*, p. 33 ff.

2. Also : Fier., 457 ; Aye, 936 ; Par. Duch., 3023 ; Ch. lyon, 3617.

3. Also : Ren., X, 1037 ; Cov., Viv., 1457 ; Orenge, 1374 ; Aye, 328 ; Fl. u. Bl., 1175, 1298, 2385 ; Aiol, 1995 ; Th. frç. au m. a., 39 ; Fabl., IV, 148 ; ib., V, 204 ; etc.

century<sup>1</sup>, this form is confined to the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the chansons de geste it occurs approximately once to every 1100 lines, being only exceeded in number of occurrences by *pour dieu*, *par mon chief*, *par dieu* and *en nom dieu* ; in the *Renart*, with one occurrence to every 400 lines, it is by far the most common oath ; likewise in the fabliaux, which furnish one example to 600 lines. *Par foi* is the one form of oath to occur with frequency in the Courtly Epic of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries<sup>2</sup>. The occurrences of the oath in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*, once in 400 lines, show it to be next to *pour dieu* in frequency of employment. It occurs occasionally in other productions of a religious character<sup>3</sup>, in historical writing<sup>4</sup>, and is even found in the didactic poetry of the fourteenth century<sup>5</sup>.

The employment of the oath by the very refined personages of the Courtly Epic and the most exalted clerical characters of the miracles<sup>6</sup> shows that it was not regarded as the invocation of a sacred object. The asseverative function of the oath is weak, though it sometimes accompanies promises and threats and serious affirmations.

*Voire, sire, par fei*, Thèbes, 2407. — *Nenil, par foi*, RCharr., 5354. — *par foi, fet il, vos dites voir*, Ch. Lyon, 268. — *Mil mars ? Voire, par foi, trois mile*, ib., 1278. — *Par foi, fait Renart, vos mentés*, Ren., XIII, 2152. — *Avoi, sire Tybert, par foi, Ge n'en puis mais*, ib., XII, 92. — *Que fait Gui de Nanteuil, mez amis et mes drus ? Par foi, biau sire rois, il vous mande salus*, GNant.,

1. R. G. S., I, 16 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 4, 7, 25, 31, 101.

2. Thèbes, 2407 ; RCharr., 14, 640, 786, 2457, 5354 ; Ch. Lyon, 1268, 1278, 1700, 1869, 5022, 5166, 5531 ; Erec., 3231, 6047 ; Clig., 510, 2820, 4454, 4463, 6454 ; Guil. Pal., 2491, 3965, 6720 ; Ch. ii esp., 3656 ; Mer. 2243 ; Escoufle, 3936, 7266.

3. GCoins., 285, 306, 500, 553 ; « Miracle de Théophile », Ruteb., 11, 207, 249.

4. RClary, 43, 45.

5. JCond., I, 124, 159 ; etc.

6. Mir. ND., V, 987 (Notre Dame) ; IX, 254 (bishop) ; XIV, 408 (St. Laurence) ; etc.

1868. — *Mon seigneur, bien veigniez, par foi*, Mir. ND., X, 158. — etc.

More emphatic usage is found in :

*Je ne pourroie, Ytier, par foi*, Th. frç. au m. a., 255. — *Par foi, se tost nes secouomes, Ja seront tout et mort et pris*, Guil. Pal., 6720. — *Par foi, fait il, au branc forbi d'acier, Le voz convient tout avant desrainier*, Gayd., 3881. — *Je vous en aiderai, par foi, Se, sauve m'onor, le puis fere*, Fabl., I, 23. — *Par foi, je m'en irai A saint Michiel*, GCoins., 306. — etc.

#### PAR MA FOI :

Found frequently throughout the period under consideration. In the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it occurs parallel to *par foi*, though never as frequently. The relative frequency of the two forms varies for different texts. In the chansons de geste *par ma foi* is about one half as frequent as *par foi*, in the *Renart* about one fourth as frequent, in the fabliaux one sixth, in the miracles of *Notre Dame* one sixth. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, *par foi* having disappeared, *par ma foi* becomes very frequent in all forms of literature (in the drama one example to every 475 lines). The O. Fr. form *par la moie foi* occurs in rare instances <sup>1</sup>.

The syntactic function of *par ma foi* is unemphatic.

*Volentiers, par ma fait*, Karls R., 565. — *Cil demande : Coment ço fu ? Par ma fei, sire, il l'a feru*, Thèbes, 8061. — *Diriez le me vos ? Je non, fet li chevaliers, par ma foi*, RCharr., 1934. — *Nenil, par ma foi*, Ch. Lyon, 6713. — *Et je te jure par ma foy, Tu n'en aras ja mal par moy*, Mir. ND., XXXII, 1610. — *Et par ma foy je t'en dourray*, ib., XX, 175. — *et par ma foy je vous pardonne tout*, Sept Sages, 19. — *Ja, par ma foy, n'y entreray, De cest an ne de l'autre*, Chans. du xve s., 30. — *Par ma foy, vous estes trop aise*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 99. — *Veez en cy une, par ma foy, Entre toutes la mieulx choisie*, R. G. S., II, 61. — *Car, par ma foy, je suys le maistre De*

1. Aiol, 1975, 2085.

*tous ceulx de nostre cloistre*, R. F. M. S-J., I, 3, 5. — *Par ma foy, tu as le pictz assez mal proportionné*, Rab., II, 125. — etc.

PAR VOTRE (TA) FOI :

This adjectival form occurs at all periods.

*Di le mei, bele, par ta foi*, Thèbes, 2401. — *Que vous en semble il, Ysabel, par vostre foy ?*, Mir. ND., XXVII, 38. — *Va moy faire un messaige, Je t'en prie par ta foy*, Chans. du xv<sup>e</sup> s., 70. — *Est il, frere Ian, par ta foy, en estat de salvation*, Rab., I, 109. — *Par la foi toe*, Ren., Va, 486 <sup>1</sup>

SUR MA FOI :

This form does not appear in usage as an asseveration before the fifteenth century. Occasional examples of its use as an adverbial phrase qualifying verbs of declaring may be noted before that time <sup>2</sup>. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the oath becomes common, especially in literature of the upper classes <sup>3</sup>. In the drama its occurrence is about once in 3500 lines, or one eighth as frequent as *par ma foi*.

The function of the expression is that of a weak asseveration.

*Que tant je vous veulx de bien, Et sur ma foy vous m'estes pire*, Rond., XXXI. — *J'ai ja enduré mainte injure De ces faulx jaleux, sur ma foy*, Chans. du xv<sup>e</sup> s., 35. — *Sur ma foy, respondit l'abbé, vous yrez chercher ailleurs qui vous prestera*, Mich. et Pouj., IV, 494. — *Et m'y oseroie sur ma foy*, R. P. F., V, 280.

SUR VOTRE (TA) FOI (very rare) :

*Seür vostre foy, me direz-vos De vostre cheval verités ?*, Fabl., III, 117 <sup>4</sup>.

1. Also : Thèbes, 110 ; Ren., XI, 877 ; Alisc., 6589a ; Mir. ND., II, 194, 300 ; ib., XII, 1188 ; Th., frç. av. la Ren., 52, 105, 260 ; R. P. F., XIII, 145 ; Rec. de Farces, 97 ; etc.

2. Doon, 777 ; GCoins., 545 ; Mir. ND., XXXV, 604.

3. Rond., XXVII, XXXI, XLVII, LXXIII ; Chans. du xv<sup>e</sup> s., 35, 37, 91 ; Mich. et Pouj., IV, 491, 492, 494 ; R. P. F., IV, 10 ; ib., V, 14 ; etc.

4. Also : Vill. (Poés. Attrib.), 158.

PAR NOS FOIS (one example) :

*Mon tres chier sire, par noz foiz, Ce qui vous plaist dire ferons,*  
Mir. ND., XXXVII, 272.

MA FOI !

This interjectional form, with the preposition, *par* or *sur*, omitted, does not appear before the fifteenth century. It is found throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but is not common except in the drama, where it occurs once to every 1250 lines.

*Ma foy, je ne vous congnoys rien,* Th. frç. av. la Ren., 70. — *Ma foy, se nous estions ici Jusque a demain, nous n'aurions autre chose,* ib., 280. — *Passer le temps ? Ma fci, il est trop lour,* ib., 62. — *Ouy, ma foy,* R. F. M. S-J., I, 7, 12<sup>1</sup>.

(PAR) (LA) FOI DE MON CORPS :

This oath is mentioned in a *Histoire de Bayart* of the sixteenth century<sup>2</sup> as the favorite oath of Charles VIII. Occasional examples of the oath are found in the drama.

*Par la foy de mon corps, vous serez accoustré pour le tournoy,* Mich. et Pouj., IV, 495. — *Par la foy de mon cors, je tremble De voir telz gens,* Th. frç. av. la Ren., 51. — *Foy de mon cors, elle est tant gaye,* ib., 290<sup>3</sup>.

There appears in the sixteenth century a form of invocation of one's faith of the type *foi de gentilhomme* !, *foi d'aventurier* !, etc. = by my (your) faith as a gentleman, — as an adventurer, etc. These forms are not frequent before the middle of the sixteenth century, but become quite common later<sup>4</sup>. The following examples have been found before 1550 :

1. Also : Rec. de Farces, 140 ; R. G. S., I, 126 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 66, 160, 201, 333 ; R. F. M. S.-J., II, 13, 6 ; ib., III, 9, 11.

2. Mich. et Pouj., vol. IV.

3. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 51 ; Rec. de Farces, 155 ; R. F. M. S.-J., II, 15, 11 ; ib., III, 17, 1 ; ib., IV, 12, 11.

4. See Zöckler, pp. 125-6.

*Se n'est pas, foy de gentilhomme ?* R. F. M. S.-J., IV, 12, 11. — *Foy de gentil homme, il vault mieulx pleurer moins*, Rab., I, 231. — Again : R. P. F., XIII, 30. — *Foy d'homme de bien, dist Panurge, ie n'en mentz de mot*, Rab., I, 286. — *Foy de lanternier*, Rab., III, 164. — *foy de pieton*, ib., II, 292.

Compare also the form of oath (not found elsewhere) in

*Une foiz me dictiez ouy, En foy de noble et gentil femme*, Vill. (Poés. Attrib.), 134.

**EN BONNE FOI :**

This form occurs at all periods, but never in frequent employment. Its function is weakly asseverative.

*en bonne foy je le diray a mon seigneur*, Sept Sages, 32. — *Chier sire, oil, en bonne foy*, Mir. ND., III, 602. — *En bonne foy j'ai grand vouloir D'escouter sa sage doctrine*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 346<sup>1</sup>.

**PAR BONNE FOI (very rare) :**

The Pope : *J'ay de elle veoir grant desir Par bonne foy*, Mir. ND., XXVII, 1826<sup>2</sup>.

**la franchise (one example) :**

*Et li prient par sa franchise Que leur fiestre lest en s'eglise*, GCoins., 218.

**l'honneur (one example) :**

*Non, non, dist le duc, sur mon honneur*, Mich. et Pouj., IV, 556.

**la loi :**

Confined to the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

1. Also : Villeh., 60 ; Th. frç. au m. a., 384 ; Mir. ND., XVIII, 274 ; ib., XXXVI, 274 ; Chans. du xv<sup>e</sup> s., 132 ; Mich. et Pouj., IV, 509 ; R. P. F., VI, 184 ; R. F. M. S.-J., II, 7, 13 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 346.

2. See Zöckler, p. 126, for later examples.



In its asseverative form the oath occurs generally in the utterances of pagans ; the adjurative form is employed either by Christians addressing pagans or vice versa. The signification of *loi* is evidently « faith », « creed », etc.

*Par mes idres et par ma lei, N'en crerrai autre loement*, Thèbes, 4248. — *Et dist Judas : Par ma loi, no fera*, Prise de Cordres, 2412. — A Jew : *C'est-à-dire, par ma loi, Je t'ai presté plus d'un jaloï*, GCoins., 551. — Rainouart addressing a pagan : *Dist Rainouars : Volentiers, par ma loi*, Alisc., 6590a. — *par ta loi, dou es nez ?* Nymes, 889. — etc. <sup>1</sup>.

The following forms of oath invoking *loi* have been found :

*par la lei que nos tenons*, Thèbes, 2751. — *par la lei que ci est present*, Ressurrection, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 19 <sup>2</sup>. — *par la loi dont tu vis*, Otin, 231. — *par cele lei que vos tenez plus salve*, Rol., 648.

**la loyauté** (rare) :

*que, par ma loiauté, Qui s'en fuira du champ, se j'en ay poosté, Du corps le comperra*, Doon, 980. — *Or ça, par vostre loyauté, Ysabel, le quel vault miex faire*, Mir. ND., XXVII, 876 <sup>3</sup>.

**la malédiction** (one example) :

*Qu'est-ce, truans, par vo maleïçon*, Aub(a)., 59.

**la mort** (one example) :

*Mort de moy ! vous y jouez vous Avec Dame Merencolie*, Charl. d'Orléans, Rond., XCIII, II, 130 (Zöckler) .

This form shows a euphemism for *mort* (*de*) *dieu* <sup>4</sup>.

**le nom** (rare) :

*En nom de moy, Il m'auront tout a anemi*, Ruteb., I, 90 <sup>5</sup>.

1. Also : Doon, 8507 ; Gaufr. 3845 ; Mir. ND., XXXV, 689, 1545.

2. Here *loi* = « book of law ».

3. Also ; Fier., 2896 ; Mir. ND., XXXVI, 1215.

4. See above, p. 50.

5. Also : Mir. ND., XIX, 386, 985 ; ib., XXI, 1368.

**la passion** (one example) :

*Par la passion que j'endure, I est vray*, R. G. S., II, 282.

**le sacrement** (see above in division « Religious Absractions »).

**le salut** (one example) :

*Par mon salut, je ne cuit mie Qu'en ceste ville ait homme en vie  
Qui ce poinct te sceust espondre*, Mir. ND., XXII, 464.

**le sauvement** (one example) :

*Ou, foi que doi mon sauvement, Vous tenroiz j'ai malvès sentier*,  
Fabl., II, 120.

**le serment**

My first example of this invocation is in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* <sup>1</sup>. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it is very frequent (once to 750 lines in the drama). Occurrences are found in both popular and polite literature <sup>2</sup>. No examples have been noted in Rabelais. *(Par) mon serment* is the usual form of the invocation ; *par serment* <sup>3</sup>, *par ton serment* <sup>4</sup>, *sur mon serment* <sup>5</sup> and *par le serment qu'ay au roy* <sup>6</sup> each occur once.

*par mon serment Je vous lairay tout franchement Joir d'Espagne*,  
Mir. ND., XXVIII, 688. — *Par mon serment, vecy raige*, Chans.  
du xv<sup>e</sup> s., 8. — *Par mon serment, j'en suis content*, R. G. S., I, 145.  
— *Par mon serment, il se mourra Tout parlant !*, Th. frç. av. la  
Ren., 103. — *Mon serment, j'en croy le libraire, Il m'a cousté*, ib.,  
371.

1. XXVI, 669 ; XXVIII, 688.

2. Chans. du xv<sup>e</sup> s., 8, 38 ; Rond., CLXIX ; Vill. (Poès. Attrib.), 154 ;  
R. P. F., II, 291, 295 ; ib., IV, 12 ; ib., V, 78, 97, 102 ; ib., IX, 158 ; ib.,  
XI, 290 ; ib., XIII, 139 ; CMar., I, 29.

3. R. G. S., I, 16.

4. R. G. S., I, 166.

5. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 321.

6. Mir. ND., XXVI, 669.

**la soif** (very rare) :

*Par ma soif, dist Rhizotome, je le veulx lire, Rab., II, 400*<sup>1</sup>.

**la vérité** (one example) :

*C'estes-vous, par ma verité, Vous-meme, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 98.*

**la vertu** (rare) :

*Et vertu de moy, Dieu ! la panche, R. F. M. S-J., II, 15, 20. — Vertu de ma vie, A. Th. frç., I, 133.*

*Vertu de moi (ma vie)* is an euphemistic variant of *vertu dieu*<sup>2</sup>. In the first example *dieu* is indeed present, as the result of the combination of the two oaths *vertu de moi* and *vertu dieu*.

**la vie** (occasional) :

*Sire, je n'en osoie, dist Aiols, par ma vie, Quar j'estoie si povres que n'avoie dont vivre, Aiol, 8116. — Or me di par ta vie, Fier., 2640. — Messeigneurs, J'ay charge, sur ma vie, du Roy, Mich. et Pouj., IV, 588. — Si seray servi, sur ma vie, A. Th. frç., II, 130.*

1. Also : Rab., II, 134, 136 ; ib., IV, 290.

2. See also above, p. 35 fg.

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## II. Material Attributes.

Invocations of material attributes of the speaker, the person addressed or the person referred to are characteristic of the period from the twelfth to the end of the fourteenth century. Occurrences of these forms of invocation in literature of a later date, with the exception of the oaths invoking *le corps* <sup>1</sup>, are relatively rare <sup>2</sup>. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the oath is frequent in all forms of literature. Its relatively frequent occurrence in the Courtly Epic is noticeable. We are also struck by the frequent use of the oath by the animal characters of the *Renart* in forms that do not appear elsewhere, such as *par mes doiz et par mes ners* <sup>3</sup>, *par ma pel* <sup>4</sup>, *par mes denz* <sup>5</sup>, etc. The common occurrence of this form of oath in the *Roland* and other texts of the early period <sup>6</sup> seems probably a relic of primitive usage.

The emphasizing power of the oath varies for the different forms.

### **la barbe** <sup>7</sup> :

Invocations of the beard are largely confined to the chansons de geste <sup>8</sup>. There are numerous forms of invocation. *Par*

1. See below, p. 139.

2. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 111, 127, 143, 444 ; Rec. de Farces, 3 ; Rab., I, 289 ; ib., III, 4.

3. XVI, 337.

4. XIV, 844.

5. Ib., 3021 ; XIV, 150 ; XVI, 160.

6. Rol., 47, 247, 249, 261, 271a, 799, 1719, 3953 ; Auc., 10, 46 ; Karls R., 41, 660 ; Th. frç. au m. a., 206.

7. See also *grenom*, p. 140.

8. However : Ren., VI, 415 ; XXII, 658 ; XXIII, 327 ; Rab., I, 289 ; ib., III, 4.

*ma barbe*<sup>1</sup>, *par ma barbe florie*<sup>2</sup>, *par ma barbe merlée*<sup>3</sup> and *par ceste barbe*<sup>4</sup> occur with greater frequency than the others ; *par ma blanche barbe*<sup>5</sup>, *par ma barbe chanue*<sup>6</sup>, *par la barbe ki al piz me ventelet*<sup>7</sup>, *par (i)ceste meie barbe*<sup>8</sup> and *par la barbe qui me pent sor le pis*<sup>9</sup> are sporadic.

The usage of these forms is distinctive in the frequency with which they are uttered by the Saracens and by the French emperors, generally by Charlemagne ; out of 22 examples 11 are in utterances of the emperor, 7 in utterances of the Saracens. This restriction of usage shows clearly that in the minds of the Old French the beard was associated by tradition with the Mohammedans and the royal family. As regards the former, beyond the fact of their wearing beards, I have found no special reason for ascribing to them any reverence for that part of the person. Contemporaneous references, however, seem to indicate that at one time long hair was characteristic of the Carlovingian princes<sup>10</sup>. The body of Chlodomir, killed in battle, was identified by its long hair ; the body of the child Clovis, whom Frédégonde had caused to be murdered and thrown into the Seine, was recognized by the abundance of his hair.

The emphasis given by these oaths is often very strong.

*Par ma barbe, se g'en ai aise, Je l'en ferai estre a malaise*, Ren., XXIII, 327. — *Et Kalles respondi : Par ma barbe flourie, Je vous fes serment devant la baronie, Ja n'en perdrez l'onneur*, Gaufr., 5221. — *Tot ce fu voir, jet Karles, par ma barbe mellee*, Aye, 806. — *Par ma*

1. Aiol, 9324 ; Ren., VI, 415 ; ib., XXIII, 327 ; Rab., I, 289 ; ib., III, 4.

2. Gaufr., 183, 5221 ; GBourg., 57, 3293.

3. RCambr., Girb. de Metz, 235 ; Gaufr., 1944 ; Fier., 3048 ; GBourg., 461 ; Aye, 806.

4. Rol., 249, 261, 271a, 3953 ; Aym., 3583 ; Li Nerb., 2537.

5. Karls R., 660.

6. Li Nerb., 4939.

7. Rol., 48.

8. Rol. 1719 ; Ren., XXII, 658.

9. HBord., 1050.

10. See Leber « Coll. de Pièces, etc. », VIII, 113 ff. : *De la longue chevelure des rois de la première race*.

*barbe mellee, ce dist li Sarrazins, Ne cuit que soiés li rois, GBourg., 461. — Par ceste barbe, dunt li peil sunt canut, S'uns en escapet, morz es e confonduz, Rol., 953. — Par ma feit, ço dist Hugue, e par ma blanche barbe, Quant de mei partirez, ne gaberez mais altre, Karls R., 660.*

**le chapeau** (one example) :

*Jel voi, dist-il, par mon chapel, Fabl., I, 191.*

**le chief :**

This form of oath is not found after the fourteenth century. It is one of the commonly used oaths in the chansons de geste, occurring once to every 750 lines. In the *Renart* it occurs once to 1000 lines, in the fabliaux, once to 1150. It is not infrequent in the Courtly Epic <sup>1</sup>. Historical and religious literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries furnish sporadic examples <sup>2</sup>.

The usual form is *par mon chief* ; *par le mien chief* and *par le tien chief* appear occasionally <sup>3</sup>, *par cest chief*, once <sup>4</sup>.

*Par mon chief ! voir en dites, Nymes, 929. — Par mon chief, ce ai mon, Gayd., 4657. — Je ne poi par mon chief, RCambr., 6015. — Que dus, que contes, .xxv. par mon chief, Cor. Lo., Ms. C., 1623. — Avez me vous ore gabé ? Ce dist Renart : Nanil, biau sire, Par mon chief, Ren., III, 314. — Amis, menjas-tu hui ? Nel me celer tu ja. Naie, sire, dist il, par mon chief, tres jors a, GBourg., 2214. — G'en ociroie, par mon chief ! quatre .xx., Orenge, 568. — Par mon chief, fet Meleaganz, Quanque vos dites est neanz, RCharr., 4805. — Je ne l'otroi mes mie, par le mien chief, Aiol, 3565. — etc.*

1. Ch. Lyon, 581, 5219, 6345 ; RCharr., 503, 761, 4805 ; Ch. ii esp., 573, 3658 ; Escoufle, 3040 ; Fl. u. B1., 1287, 2110 ; Mer., 136, 407, 959, 1044, 2005, etc.

2. HVal., 386 ; Jeu St. Nicholas, Th. frç. au m. a., 206 ; Mir. ND., XII, 418 ; ib., XXIII, 282 ; ib., XXIX, 405, 788, 2066.

3. Aiol, 2819, 3565, 3956 ; Fabl., II, 155.

4. Thèbes, 4269.



**la coquille** (one example) :

*Non, car il n'est mie si seul Comme il cuide, par ma coquille,*  
Mir. ND., XXXVII, 824.

**le corps :**

Found sporadically at all periods in widely varying forms of invocation. *Par ce corps* <sup>1</sup> and *foi que je dois à mon corps* <sup>2</sup> occur in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries ; *par le corps de moi* appears in two instances in the *Miracles de Nôtre Dame par personnages* <sup>3</sup> ; *par mon corps*, once in the fourteenth <sup>4</sup> ; *par ce corps* <sup>5</sup>, *corps de moi* ! <sup>6</sup> and *le corps de moi, dieu* ! <sup>7</sup> (confusion of *corps de moi* and *corps dieu*) furnish sporadic examples in the sixteenth.

*Dame, foi que ge doi mon cors, Ge n'en îstrai, ore ne ore,* Fabl., I, 315. — *Que par cest cors et par ceste ame, Bien pert sirès et èle dame,* Escoufle, 8159. — *Le corps de moy, Dieu, s'il attrape Le povre gorrier resolu, C'est faict, il est cuict et moulu,* Th. frç. av. la Ren., 291.

**le couillon** (one example) :

*Car en amours mourent, martir ; Ce jura-il sur son couillon,*  
*Quand de ce monde vout partir,* Vill., 77.

**les dents :**

Invoked several times in the *Renart* by Renart and Tybert. Outside of this text, only three examples have been met, one in the fabliaux <sup>8</sup>, and two in the sixteenth century <sup>9</sup>.

1. Escoufle, 8159 ; Ren., II, 1315.

2. Fabl., I, 315 ; ib., V, 189 ; GCoins., 609.

3. XXIII, 1711 ; XXXVII, 3246.

4. Mich. et Pouj., I, 572.

5. Mar., I, 36 ; R. F. M. S.-J., II, 11, 21.

6. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 290.

7. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 291 (twice).

8. Fabl., III, 261.

9. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 127, 444.

*Que par mes denz et par mes ners, Je vous metrai en male paine,* Ren., XVI, 337. — *Et avez menty par vos dents,* Th. frç. av. la Ren., 444 <sup>1</sup>.

**la figue** (one example) :

*par ma figue vous seriez bien empeschez,* Rab., II, 241.

Probably a parody of *par ma foi* <sup>2</sup>.

**le grenon, gernun, grenons** <sup>3</sup> :

Six examples of the invocation are found in my material, five of them coming from the chansons de geste. These five examples occur in utterances of Charlemagne ; in no instance is the oath uttered by a pagan, as is frequent for invocations of *la barbe*.

*Par ceste barbe et par cest men gernun, Vus n'irez pas,* Rol., 249. — *Car se cil bien volvent, par mon destre grenon, Jai n'an riroie a Paris ma maison,* Orson, 3267. — *Vos i mentés par les grenons*<sup>4</sup> Fabl., VI, 93 <sup>4</sup>.

**la gueule** (one example) :

*Vostre home, par ma gueule, serai,* GCoins., 534.

**la main, destre** (rare) :

*Ge sui chevalier sanz perece, Lé meillor trestot par ma mein,* Fabl., III, 254. — *Mais par la main dont je taing le coutel, Se Loeïs ne vous lait non recet, En petit d'eure li mouvrai tel cenbel,* RCambr., 5866. — *Si feroiz vous, par la main destre Don je vous taing,* Ch. lyon, 1927. — *Par ceste meie destre Et par la barbe ki al piz me ventelet, L'ost des Franceis verrez semples desfere,* Rol., 47.

1. Ren., Ib., 3021 ; ib., XIII, 916 ; ib., XIV, 150, 160 ; Fabl., III, 261.

2. See above, p. 129 ff.

3. See also invocations of *barbe*, p. 136 ff.

4. Also : Gayd., 4254, 8475 ; Fier., 2280.

**la peau** (one example) :

*Primaute, dist Renars, par ma pel..., Char a vilain noire, Ren., XIV, 844.*

**les nerfs** (one example) :

*Que par mes denz et par mes ners Je vous metrai en male paine, Ren., XVI, 338.*

**le sang** (rare) :

The oath (*par*) *le sang de moi*, in euphemistic imitation of *sang dieu*, occurs sporadically in the fifteenth century<sup>1</sup>. A confusion of this form with *sang dieu* appears in *le sang bieu de moi* !<sup>2</sup>. *Par le (saint<sup>3</sup>) sang que Dieu me fit* is found once in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*<sup>4</sup> and sporadically in the fifteenth century<sup>5</sup>.

*Par le sang de moy ! je pensoye Pour qui c'est que vous me prenez, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 111. — Vous me gastez. Le sang bieu de moy ! je m'enfume, ib., 143. — Mais, par le sang que Dieu me fist, Je serai maistre en ma maison, Rec. de Farces, 3.*

**la tête** :

Confined to the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Occurrences of the oath are sporadic in the Courtly Epic<sup>6</sup>, the chansons de geste<sup>7</sup>, the fabliaux<sup>8</sup>, the *Renart*<sup>9</sup> and the thirteenth century drama<sup>10</sup>; they become more frequent in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*<sup>11</sup>. *Par*

1. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 111, 143.

2. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 143.

3. See *saint sang bieu*, p. 52.

4. XII, 440.

5. Rec. de Farces, 3 ; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 121.

6. Erec, 5912.

7. Orson, 2819 ; Aye, 3181, 3525.

8. I, 158.

9. XVI, 1170, 1307.

10. Rob. et Mar., 260.

11. VI, 67 ; XXIV, 43 ; XXXII, 114 ; XXXIII, 617.

*ma teste, par ceste teste* and *par ceste moie teste* are the forms found.

*Vos conparroiz ancui mout chier Vostre folie, par ma teste*, Erec, 5912. — *Che fera mon, par cheste teste*, Rob. et Mar., 260. — *Nenil, dist Auloris, par ceste moie teste, Ne sui pas Sarazin*, Aye, 3524.

### les yeux, œil :

Invocations of the eyes occur in all forms of literature during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, occurrences ceasing in the fourteenth<sup>1</sup>. Several forms of the oath have been found, of which *par mes yeux* and *par les yeux de mon chief* are the most common. *Par mes yeux* is the regular form in the *Renart*<sup>2</sup> and the Courtly Epic<sup>3</sup>, and the more usual form in the fabliaux<sup>4</sup>. *Par les yeux de mon chief (tête)* is the only form occurring in the chansons de geste<sup>5</sup>; it also occurs once in the fabliaux<sup>6</sup>. Other forms of the oath are *par mes deux yeux*<sup>7</sup>, *par ces deux yeux*<sup>8</sup>, *par les yeux dont je te vois*<sup>9</sup>, *foi que je dois à mes yeux*<sup>10</sup> and *par l'œil*<sup>11</sup>.

*Mais par mes iex, Or as tu trop alé avant*, Ch. ii esp., 4120. — *Tu le comperras, par mes iex*, Fabl., I, 107. — *Oil, biau sire, par les iex de mon chief*, Gar. Loh., I, 18. — *Non ferai, par les iex de mon chief*, RCambr., 7540. — *Par mes eulz, vos l'averez et toz dis mes amis serez*, Ren., XXIII, 2054. — *Mes par les iex dont je te voi, Tels t'a argent en paume mis qui est assez plus fols que toi*, Ruteb., II, 12.

1. Mir. ND., XXI, 1043.

2. XIII, 203; XIV, 346; XVI, 1170, 1307, 1369.

3. Ch. .ii. esp., 4120; Mer., 2001; Ch. lyon, 4187; RCharr., 965.

4. I, 107; II, 50; V, 169.

5. Aiol, 6478, 6789; RCambr., 7540; Aye, 123; Gar. Loh., I, 18.

6. III, 110.

7. Ren., XXIII, 2055; Fabl., I, 183.

8. Mir. ND., XXI, 1043.

9. Ruteb., II, 12.

10. Fabl., IV, 10.

11. Rond., XCVII.

III. Persons bearing a relation of some sort to the speaker,  
the person addressed or the person referred to.

Almost without exception <sup>1</sup>, invocations of this type are made in the asseverative form (*par la*) *foi que je dois* (*porter*) à —, etc., and the corresponding adjurative form (*par la*) *foi que vous (tu) devez (dois)* (*porter*) à —, etc. Such oath-forms occur commonly in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but are rare in later times <sup>2</sup>. The function appears to be in general that of asseverations and adjurations of moderate emphasizing-power.

The most frequent forms of this oath are (a), the asseverative form, invoking the faith which the speaker owes the person addressed and (b), the adjurative form, invoking the faith owed the speaker by the person addressed.

(a). [*par la (celle) (grande)*] *foi que (je) (à) vous (te) dois (porter)* <sup>3</sup>.

This oath occurs at all periods, being, however, very infrequent after the fourteenth century <sup>4</sup>. It is fairly frequent in the Courtly Epic <sup>5</sup>; it occurs in the *Renart* once to every

1. *De par les tiens ne par toi*, Ren., XVI, 393. *Pour l'amour de —*, Alex., XIII; Elie, 2689; Aye, 112. (*Jurer*) *le bras s'amie*, Thèbes, 1756. *Par Sainte Mamye*, Rab., I, 66.

2. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 80, 81; R. P. F., V, 210, 219, 276; ib., XIII, 141; R. G. S., I, 242.

3. See also: *par cele foi que vos tos doi*, Guil. Pal., 6530; *foi que je doi vo cors*, Th. frç. au m. a., 166; *par la foi que je vos plevi* (Ysengrin to Noble), Ren., Va, 423; *par cele foi que je vous ai portee* (Guillaume to his mother), Alisc., 2890; *foy que nos vo devon*, HCap., 99; *par le grant foy Et ferme qu'ay en toy*, (Bourgeois to God), Mir. ND., XXXV, 1350.

4. Th. frç. av. la Ren., 80, 81; R. G. S., I, 42; R. P. F., V, 216.

5. Thèbes, 4959, 8349, 8677, 8873; Guil. d'A., 1737, 2503; Guil. Pal., 1497, 2241, 6530; Escoufle, 2846, 5850.

800 lines, in the chansons de geste once to 1500 lines, in the fabliaux once to 1500, in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* once to 2000.

It may be of interest to indicate under what conditions this oath is addressed to another. It is employed regularly by inferiors to superiors, and by equals to one another, even when cordial relations do not exist between the speaker and the person addressed <sup>1</sup>. It is used also by superiors addressing a group of inferiors <sup>2</sup>. A superior, however, addressing an inferior, very rarely uses the oath, unless some close relationship exist between them <sup>3</sup>; our examples of this use are confined to three cases in the *Renart* <sup>4</sup>, three in the fabliaux <sup>5</sup>, one in Joinville <sup>6</sup> and one in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* <sup>7</sup>; no occurrences have been found in the chansons de geste or the Courtly Epic.

(b). [par (sur <sup>8</sup>) la (celle)] foi que vous (tu) me devez (dois) (porter) <sup>9</sup>.

No examples of this form are found in the chansons de geste ; in other texts it appears parallel to the asseverative form

1. Ren., XI, 191 (Renart to Ysengrin) ; ib., XI, 244 (Ysengrin to Renart) ; Par. Duch., 1253 (Hugues in anger to companions) ; Guil. Pal., 2241 (Guillaume to opposing leader) ; Aye, 119 (*par la foi que vous doi, fort vin beustes*, etc.).

2. Karls R., 754 (king to subjects) ; Thèbes, 4959 (king to his council) ; Guil. Pal., 6530 (Guillaume to his knights) ; Am. u. Am., 2359 (lady to subjects) ; Aym. Narb., 615 (Charlemagne to nobles), 1473 (Aymeri to dependent nobles) ; Par. Duch., 828 (Parise to her companions).

3. Jourd., Bl., 3905 (noble to nephew) ; ACarth., 508 (Isorès to daughter) ; Aiol, 222 (Elie to his son Aiol).

4. Ia, 2064 (Noble to Renart's wife) ; XI, 2073 (Noble to Bernard, the Archbishop) ; XIII, 2063 (Noble to Renart disguised).

5. I, 270 (bourgeois to *bouvier*) ; II, 106 (lady to valet) ; II, 81 (knight to esquire).

6. 766 (St. Louis to Joinville in a dream).

7. XXIII, 65 (Amis to a pilgrim).

8. Joinv., 387 ; Mir. ND., II, 1020 ; R. P. F., XIII, 141.

9. See also : *par cele foi que me plevistes* (man to wife), Fabl., III, 241 ; *par la foy que vous m'avez baillie* (queen to liege man), Joinv., 398 ; *par celle foy qu'a moy avez*, Mir. ND., XXIII, 1661.



with approximately one fifth its frequency. Occurrences are rare after the fourteenth century <sup>1</sup>.

The social restriction found to exist in the employment of the asseverative form is even more distinct in the case of the adjurative form. This is natural, as the speaker probably hesitates to insist upon his own superiority by addressing this form of oath to another. Only one example of its employment by an inferior to a superior has been found <sup>2</sup>. On the other hand I have noticed the relative frequency with which this adjuration is employed by kings <sup>3</sup> and the higher clergy <sup>4</sup> in speaking to their inferiors.

*Mes je l'aim mout, foi que vous doi*, Guil. d'A., 2503. — *Dous amis, foi que je vos doi*, *La chose vint tot autrement*, Escoufle, 5850. — *Que par la foi que je vos doi*, *Evesques serés de la loi*, Ren., XI, 2073. — *Et dist : Amis, foi que vous doi*, *Ge m'en vais orendroit au roi*, ib., XI, 1677. — *Par la foi que vos doi*, *vos dites verité*, Par. Duch., 1235. — *Foi que doi vos*, *ja celer nel vos quier*, Aym. Narb., 1473. — *Par cele foi que je vos doi porter*, *Ne les veill mie departir ne doner*, Li Nerb., 545. — *Foi que doi toi*, *Tu paroles moult folement*, Fabl., II, 257. — *Dame, par la foy que vous doy*, *C'est un biau filz*, Mir. ND., XV, 514. — *Keu, dist il, foi ke devés moi*, *Cest vallet a ostel menés*, Ch. ii esp., 1540. — *Beax hostes, foi que me devez...* *Or escoutez*, Fabl., I, 305. — *Par cele foi ke moi devés*, *Molés mon blé*, ib., II, 32. — *Et sur la foy que me devez*, *Despoilliez la trestoute nue*, Mir. ND., II, 1020. — *Dictes-moy, foy que me devez*, *Se vous l'espervier osterez*, R. P. F., V, 210.

Next in frequency of occurrence to the oath-forms *par la foi que je vous dois*, etc., and *par la foi que vous me devez*, etc., are the forms addressed to the different members of the family. Invocations of this type appear only in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. No forms are found in common usage.

1. R. P. F., V, 210, 276 ; ib., XIII, 141.

2. Rob. et Mar., 47 (Marion to chevalier ; *foi que vous mi devés*).

3. Guil. d'A., 221 ; Ch. ii esp., 1540 ; Joiav., 387, 398 ; Mir. ND., IV, 113 ; ib., XXXIII, 1544.

4. Mir. ND., II, 1020 ; ib., III, 928.

Parents.

*Par la foi que je doi ceus dont je suis nez*, GBourg., 3821. — *Foi que doi... le mien pere meismes*, Orson, 335. — *Foy que je doy mon pere Enoch*, Mir. ND., XXXV, 1090. — *foi que doi ma mere*, Fabl., IV, 99<sup>1</sup>.

Wife.

*Que foi que je doi a ma fame, Il a tort*, Ren., XVI, 800<sup>2</sup>. — *foi que doi ma moillier*, ib., XVI, 1118. — *Foi que je doi Hersant la franche*, ib., XXII, 300. — *Foi que doi Guibourc*, Alisc., 595. — *par la foi que doi m'espousee*, Li Nerb., 197.

Children.

*Foi que je doi touz mes enfanz*, Ren., XVI, 717. — *Foi que doi mon fil Rovël*, ib., I, 555<sup>3</sup>. — *par la foi que doi ma fille*, Fabl., I, 80<sup>4</sup>.

Sister.

*foi que doi ma suer Dame Haouris de la Monjoie*, Ren., XVI, 474.

Uncle.

*Foy que doy mon oncle Senegue, Je sui d'y aler toute aperte*, Mir. ND., II, 564.

Sporadic examples have been found of invocations of the faith owed the emperor, king or liege lord.

*Mes foi que vos devez le roi, Le vostre seignor et le mien*, Comandez li, Ch. Lyon, 128. — *Foi que devés l'empereor*, Guil. Pal., 2488. — *par l'omage que je fis Noble le lion*, Ren., I, 568<sup>5</sup>. — *foi que devez Artu le roi*, ib., Ib. 2398. — *Foi que je doi Gaydon et Amaufroi*, Gayd., 6065. — *Par cele foi que dois au roi Pepin, Vous deussiez de moi*

1. Also : Thèbes, 4508 ; Doon, 6205 ; GBourg., 386 ; Mir. ND., XXXIV, 1566.

2. Also : ib., XVI, 580.

3. Again : Ren., I, 159 ; ib., IX, 244 ; ib., XII, 143

4. Also : Alex., XIII ; Aye, 112.

5. Also : ib., XXII, 289.

*terre tenir*, Gar. Loh., I, 241. — *par la foi que ge ai presentee Charlon de France*, Aym. Narb., 389.

Friends are invoked several times in the form (*par la*) *foi que (je) dois (à) (tous) mes amis (porter)*.

*Mais par la foi que doi tous mes amis, Ains contre lui n'iert li miens escus prins*, Gar. Loh., I, 172<sup>1</sup>.

The faith owed the beloved is not infrequently invoked.

*Et dist... foi que il doit s'amie, Que ja n'en aura reançon*, Ren., XVI, 310<sup>2</sup>. — *Foi que je doi Hersent m'amie*, ib., XXII, 601. — *Et si li mande, com a son bon ami, Qu'il ne se moeve, par la foi doit li*, Aub(a.), 11. — *Par la foy que ge doy ma mie*, Orenge, 284<sup>3</sup>. — *foi que devés Marote*, Th. frç. au m. a., 130. — *Par Sainte Mamyte*, Rab., I, 66<sup>4</sup>.

Compare also :

*par la foi que doi tout franc home porter*, Par. Duch., 638, 1447. — *par la foi que doi a mes barons*, Jourd., Bl., 401. — *Por l'amor del baron Galopin*, Elie, 2689. — *Foi que je doi frere Hubert*, Ren., XVII, 1701.

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1. Also : Gar. Loh., I, 171 ; Orson, 1019 ; HBord., 765 ; Jeu St. Nicholas, Th. frç. au m. a., 167.

2. Also : ib., XVI, 673.

3. Also : Mir. ND., XXXVI, 889.

4. Also : Thèbes, 1756.



## C) MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS OF INVOCATION

### I. Of a serious nature.

*Sus, par male aventure*, Mir. ND., XXXIII, 1050. — *foi que doi la bantive*, Ruteb., II, 10. — *par le ciel o li solaus flambie*, Li Nerb., 5384. — *par la foi que doi le conte*, GCoins., 602 <sup>1</sup>. — *par cele corone dont m'avez queroné*, GBourg., 382. — *Pour l'amour des dames*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 325. — *foi que devez henor*, Fabl., I, 310. — *par la foi Que la riens dois que plus chier as*, Guil. Pal., 478 <sup>2</sup>. — *par le saint soleil qui roye*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 100.

### II. Of a frivolous nature.

*Par l'anesse Berenger*, Ren., VII, 778. — *por la croix d'un bouton* Fabl., I, 6. — *Foy que doy Brelare Bigod*, Vill., 1585. — *Foy que doy Trupelu, mon chien*, R. P. F., X, 207. — *a juré sa cornette grise*, ib., X, 210. — *Mort d'une !*, Th. frç. av. la Ren., 333. — *par mes cinq sens (le cul)*, R. P. F., II, 158. — *Par la vierge qui se rebrasse*, Rab., II, 10. — *Par les ambles de mon mulet*, ib., II, 150. — *Par le manche de ce fallot*, ib., II, 274. — *Par le trou Madame*, ib., II, 406. — *nous iuroyt figurs dioures (= dorées)*, ib., II, 452. — *ie vous iure mon grand hurluburlu*, ib., III, 4 <sup>3</sup>. — *Par l'aube du batz que ie porte*, ib., III, 33. — *Par l'asme de ma braguette eschauffee*, ib., III, 211. — *Par la royne des andouilles*, ib., III, 214. — *Par mes lunettes orientales*, ib., III, 216.

1. Again : ib., 610.

2. Again : Fabl., I, 305.

3. Again : ib., III, 60.

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OLIVER TOWLES.

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